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TRIAL-FOREWORDS

TO MY

“Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer’s Minor Poems”

FOR THE

CHAUCER SOCIETY,

(WITH A TRY TO SET CHAUCER’S WORKS IN THEIR
RIGHT ORDER OF TIME,)

BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

[*Reprinted 1880.*]

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DEDICATED

(THOUGH WITHOUT LEAVE)

TO

Professor James Russell Lowell, M.A.,

OF HARVARD COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

AUTHOR OF TWO ESSAYS ON CHAUCER,—

I. IN "*CONVERSATIONS ON THE OLD POETS*," 1845,

II. IN "*MY STUDY WINDOWS*," 1871,—

AND MANY OTHER WORKS THAT MAKE

THE STATES AND ENGLAND

PROUD OF HIM.

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TRIAL-FOREWORDS.

ILL-PREPARED as I am to write a comment on Chaucer's Minor Poems, and tentative as the results I have got-to, must necessarily be, I yet do not like to send out Part I of my Parallel-Text Edition of the Minor Poems for the Society, without saying something about the contents of it, and the notions I have formed—mainly from Prof. Ten Brink—as to the sequence of Chaucer's works. So little has been yet printed in England on the subject, that I think it better to state the results of a short study of Chaucer's Minor Poems, in order to induce more capable men than myself to work at them, and upset (or confirm) these results, than wait for the revision of Part I, or the completion, of Professor Ten Brink's valuable work, or the possible appearance of Mr Bradshaw's.

When men have a scheme of some kind before them, it is so much more likely to provoke criticism of itself and study of its materials, than when the materials only lie before readers. There is also a happy tendency in students to give schemes a good sound shaking, and rattle the badly-fitting bits out of their wrong places into their right ones; so that I think it well to set up my scheme (altered from Prof. Ten Brink's, and filled-up by me) to undergo this process, in the hope that the structure may stand firm at the last.

The chief interest of the investigation has been to me

the watching of the growth of the Poet's mind and power from his earliest effort to the greatest triumphs of his genius; and then its decline—in accordance with Nature's law—to its poorest, the begging Balade of the autumn before the Poet's death. Till the appearance of Prof. Bernhard Ten Brink's valuable *Studien* on Chaucer, I had never read with any care many of the poet's minor works, and their chronology seemed a muddle; but the Professor's division of Chaucer's works into three Periods—I. those before his Italian travels, which he set-out-on in December 1372; II. those containing translations of, or allusions to, Italian authors, and therefore almost certainly composed after November 1373 (when he got-back to England from Italy), up to and including 1384, the probable date of his *House of Fame*; III. those of his greatest period from 1385 to his death in 1400¹—let a flood of light in on the matter, and enabled one to see one's way. The Professor's independent rejection, too, of nearly all the poems which Mr Bradshaw had declared spurious² (with the notable exception of the *Romaunt of the Rose*), rendered one's path clearer. For, though this agreement of these two distant critics did not surprise one, since they workt mainly with the same test,³—the non-ryming of *-ye -y* (*curteisye, generally*) by Chaucer,—yet their concurrence justified one in at least setting aside a number of poems like that "*Yle of Ladies*" (l. 71), called *Chaucer's Dreame* (which one could swear, after reading it, was not Chaucer's: the thing is impossible:), till some one had shown cause for looking-on them as our poet's work. Among these poems I had

¹ I should like to add a IVth Period of Decline from, say, 1390 to 1400.

² See my "Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition of *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*," Part I, p. 197-8.

³ Mr Bradshaw had also workt the Manuscript test: that is, he put together the poems assigned to Chaucer by MSS in one class, and those not so assigned in another class; then tried them by the *-ye -y* test, and found that the poems in the latter class all proved spurious under the test, while those in the former class proved genuine.

reluctantly to put the *Romaunt of the Rose*, because, though I hoped I had strengthened Prof. Ten Brink's position¹ that the *Romaunt's* ryming of *-ye -y* might be due to its being the first work of Chaucer, who might have given himself more license in his early englishing of such a long poem than he did in later original work, yet after-consideration inclined me to think that the best early parts of the *Romaunt* were perhaps too good to be Chaucer's earliest work, and if so, this rendered it almost impossible that he should not have allowed the *-ye -y* ryme in his earliest works, then have allowed it in one of his later books, and again disallowed it in all his most important poems. Still, I don't yet look on the spuriousness of this poem as finally settled, though my friend Professor F. J. Child is also against its genuineness, and Prof. Ten Brink is now inclined to give it up. (Can't some one find a MS of Chaucer's version, with his name to it and his power in it, and so decide the question for us?)

Dealing then with the other poems, I accepted as a starting-point—without fit examination, as I see now—the *Dethe of Blaunche* as Chaucer's first poem, and the year of her death, 1369, as its date. Then the poems that most easily dated themselves were those of his old age; the latest, his *Compleynt to his Purse*, written, as the Envoy shows, to Henry IV, who (doubtless in return for it,) within four days after he came to the throne, namely, on Oct. 3, 1399, granted Chaucer fourty marks yearly for life, in addition to the annuity of £20 which Richard II had given him (Nicolas, in Morris's *Chaucer*, i. 40). Next, probably in 1398,—when Chaucer got protection against enemies suing him, no doubt creditors,²—the "*Fortune*"

¹ This was by showing that three of the latest of Chaucer's predecessors—Robert Manning of Brunne, William of Shoreham, and Robert Minot—rymed *-ye -y*.

² 1394 is also a year when Chaucer must have been very badly off, as shown by the small loans he got from the Exchequer, on the pension of £20 granted to him by Rich. II in February of that year.

or "Balade de Visage¹ sauns Peynture" (Chaucer in distress, yet having his 'best frend alyve,' l. 48);—then the *Lack of Stedfastness*—evidently written in the later years of Richard II's reign, and probably in 1397, when the king had his uncle the Duke of Gloucester seized and murdered, also seized the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, and got his Parliament (who doubtless hoped he'd mend his ways) to do all he wisht;—then perhaps the *Envoy to Scogan*, when Chaucer was 'hoor and round of shape,' and a 'deluge of pestilence' was falling, l. 14,—perhaps in 1393,² as Mr Bradshaw and Prof. Ten Brink have both independently suggested to me;—and about that time the *Marriage* or *Envoy to Bukton*, after Chaucer had written 'The wyfe of Bathe' (l. 29), and feared to fall into the dotage of (?second) marriage; then perhaps *The Complaynt of Venus* from the French of GRAUNSON, when

. . . elde, that in my spirit dulleth me, 76
 Hath of endyting al the subtilité
 Welnyghe bereft out of my remembraunce. 78

Further, it seemed that Chaucer's beautiful *Balade Truth*, or "Flee fro the presse," with his religious poem, the 'Moder of God³' (from the Latin), would fall naturally either to the time of his first losses in December 1386—when, after sitting as Knight of the Shire (or Member of Parliament) for Kent in the Parliament which sat from

¹ Not 'Village,' says Mr Bradshaw: cp. Chaucer's *Boethius*, bk. ii. "This ilke Fortune hath departed and uncovered to thee both the certeyn *visages*, and eke the doutous *visages* of thyne felawes." The poem is mainly from Boethius. See *Notes* at the end.

² Chaucer must have been *very* poor before he got his grant of. £20 for life on Febr. 28, 1394, as, after the first receipt of it on 10 Dec. 1394, he had to get advances from the Exchequer (Nicolas, in Morris's *Chaucer*, i. 37).

³ I don't feel at all certain about the date of Chaucer's two religious poems. The latter of them, a translation of the Latin hymn "*O intemerata*," is attributed to Chaucer in the Advocate's-Library MS of John of Ireland's "System of Theology," composed 1490 A.D.: "And sene, haly virgin, I will, on the end of this buk, writ ane orisoune that Galfryde Chauceir maid and prayit to this lady."—*I. Notes and Queries*, xii. 140 (25 Aug. 1855).

Oct. 1 to Nov. 1, 1386, he was dismissed from his two offices of Comptroller of the Customs and Subsidies (to which Edw. III had appointed him in 1374), and Comptroller of the Petty Customs in the Port of London (appointment dated 8 May 1382),—or to the time of his probable greater distress in 1388, when on May 1 he assigned his two annuities to John Scalby. Chaucer's dismissal from his offices in the Customs was no doubt due really to some vote of his in Parliament, though ostensibly he may have been punished by the Commission which issued in Nov. 1386 'for inquiring, among other things, into the state of the Subsidies and Customs.' The *Truth* Balade shows such confidence that Truth will deliver the poet,—clear him from his enemies' aspersions—that I *must* believe that it refers to this time, while his 'Suffise þin owen þing, þei it be smal'—looks like his still having his annuities. The *Truth* is in Chaucer's very best style.

Working thus backwards, one had got to the date of 1386 which would well fit the best Tales into the brightest and likeliest part of Chaucer's life,—the poorer Tales having been written (as some assuredly were) earlier, and others later, including the Parson's Tale at the end of the poet's life. 1387 exactly suits the revised Knight's Tale,¹ and Mr A. E. Brae² has shown cause for fixing on the 18th of April 1388 as the date for the Prologue or head-link of the

¹ See Mr Skeat's letter in my *Temporary Preface*, p. 104. We know that the third of the four "modern instances" of "tregedis" inserted into the ancient ones in the *Monkes Tale* cannot have been written till after 1385. In May 1378, Chaucer was sent with Sir Edward Berkeley to Lombardy, to treat with Bernardo Visconti, Lord of Milan, and the celebrated Sir John Hawkwood "pro certis negociis expeditionem guerræ Regis tangentibus" (Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Ric. II; Nicolas, i. 24, 98). Bernardo was afterwards deposed by his nephew, and thrown into prison, where he died in 1385, and Chaucer embalmed his memory in an 8-line stanza of a tragedie. "Tragedie is to seyne, a dite of a prosperite for a tyme, þat endiþ in wrechednesse," *Boethius*, p. 35, ed. Morris. The 5-line definition of the word in the *Monkes Prologue*, that is, Melibe's End-Link, is expanded from this.

² In the Appendix to his edition of Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, p. 68—78.

Persones Tale, and therefore of the other, or many of the other, links, and the General Prologue. The 17th of April¹ suits best the Man-of-Law's Prologue or head-link (Brae, p. 72). The General Prologue and Links must have been written after most of the Tales.

(After the revised Knight's Tale, Prof. Ten Brink—for reasons of the goodness of which he is very certain—puts the *Anelida and Arcite*, and assigns to it the date of 1394 or 1395. I cannot accept the Professor's late date for the *Canterbury Tales*; and though the *Anelida* is poor enough for Chaucer's decline, yet I put it soon after the *Mars*, of which the 'Compleynt' is not first-rate.)

Going a little further back, we get to the *Legende of Good Women*, the Prologue of which is in Chaucer's happiest manner, and must fall not far from 1386. Some lines in it name Chaucer's earlier works:

<i>Fairfax MS 16 (as printed</i>	<i>MS Gg. 4. 27, University</i>
<i>by Dr Richard Morris,</i>	<i>Library, Cambridge (as</i>
<i>Chaucer, v. 286, 289).</i>	<i>printed by Mr Bradshaw).</i>

. . in pleyne text, withouten	For in pleyn tixt, it nedyth
nede of glose,	nat to glose, 256
Thou hast [translated] the	Thow hast translatisd the ro-
<i>Romaunce of the Rose.</i> 329	<i>mauns of the rose . .</i>
And of <i>Creseyde</i> thou hast	Hast thow not made in englys
seyde as the liste 332	ek <i>the bok</i> 263
	<i>How that Crisseyde Troylis</i>
	<i>forsok</i>

He made the book that hight	He made the bok that highte
the <i>Hous of Fame</i> 417	the <i>hous of fame</i> , 405
Andekethe <i>Deeth of Blaunche</i>	And ek the <i>deth of Blaunche</i>
<i>the Duchesse</i> ,	<i>the duchesse</i> ,
And the <i>Parlament of Foules</i> ,	And the <i>parlament of foulis</i> ,
as I gesse,	as I gesse,
And al the love of <i>Palamon</i>	And al the love of <i>Palamon</i>
<i>and Arcite</i> ² 420	<i>and Arcite</i>

¹ I appeal to this as confirming my notion of the Pilgrims' journey being of more than one day, though Mr Brae disputes it.

² The first cast of the Knight's Tale.

Of Thebes, thogh the storye	Of thebes, thow the storye is	
ys knowen lyte ;	knowe lite ;	409
And many an ympne for your	And many an ympne for	
haly daiyes,	thour halydayis,	
That highten Balades, Roun-	That hightyn baladis, roun-	
dels, Virelayes.	delys, and vyrelayes.	
And for to speke of other	And for to speke of other	
holynesse,	besynesse,	
He hath in prose translated	He hath in prose 'translatid	
<i>Boece,</i>	<i>Boece,</i>	413
.	And of the <i>wrechede engen-</i>	
.	<i>drynge of mankynde,</i>	
. [no break in the text.]	<i>As man may in pope inno-</i>	
	<i>cent I-fynde,</i> ¹	
And made the <i>Lyfe</i> also of	And made the <i>lyf</i> also of	
<i>Seynt Cecile.</i> ²	<i>seynt Cecile.</i>	
He made also, goon ys a grete	He made also, gon is a gret	
while,	while,	417
<i>Origenes upon the Maude-</i>	<i>Oryggenes vp-on the maude-</i>	
<i>leyne.</i> ³	<i>leyne :</i>	
Hym oughte now to have the	Hym ouzte now to haue the	
lesse peyne	lesse peyne ;	
He hath made many a lay,	He hath mad manye a lay and	
and many a thyng. 430	manye a thyng ⁴ . . 420	

Next, then, the *Hous of Fame* dates itself by its complaint about the drudgery of the poet's office work, so that this poem, which must be well after 1373 in date, must also be before the 17th of February, 1384-5, when Chaucer was allowed to name a permanent deputy to exercise his office of Comptroller of the Subsidies (Nicolas, 1, 28, 33, of Morris's *Chaucer*). The *Parlament of Foules* and the *Troilus* both give themselves an upward limit of date : the former by its translation from the 7th book of Boccaccio's *Teseide*, and the latter by its translation of some parts, and adaptation of others, of Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. They must be after the year 1373, and are, no doubt, before 1384. Into this decade Prof. Ten Brink puts Chaucer's *Troilus*, and his translation of *Boethius de Consolatione*,—rightly, I have

¹ This translation by Chaucer of Pope Innocent's work is not now known.

² The Second Nun's Tale.

³ Not known now.

⁴ From Mr Bradshaw's print of the Prologue, dated 30 June, 1864.

no question ;—and with the prose work may go the beautiful¹ versification of the 5th metre of its 2nd book (p. 50, ed. Morris), *The former Age*,—found in two Cambridge-University MSS (Ii 3. 26 ; Hh 4. 12) by Mr Bradshaw, and first made public by Dr Richard Morris (Chaucer, vi. 300, Boethius, p. 180)—and the *Lines to Adam Scrivener*,

Adam Scrivener, if ever it thee befall,
Boece or Troilus for to writè newe, &c.

The only poems thus remaining for us to date are the *Gentilnesse* (a Balade without its Envoy, quoted in, and known to us only from, Scogan's poem to Henry IV's sons²), the *Compleynt of Mars*, the *Compleynte to Pite*, and the *A B C*. The *Gentilnesse* is certainly not of Chaucer's best time ; its praise of 'this firste stoke' might put it with *The Former Age*, but as the words mean any, or some special, father, and the tone of the poem is (to me) that of Chaucer's old age, I date it late, after 1390. *The Compleynt of Mars* links itself on, by its opening lines, to *The Parlament of Foules*, and follows rather than precedes it. This "*Mars*," Shirley—Chaucer's contemporary, who was 30 when the poet died—states in MS R. 3. 20, Trin. Coll. Cambr., that some men said was written about Isabel, Duchess of York, (a daughter of Peter the Cruel of Spain, a looseish Southern dame who was married in 1372, and died in 1394,) and the Earl of Huntingdon, afterwards Duke of Exeter. The *Compleynte to Pite*—the awkwardest of all Chaucer's Poems to deal with³—is his earliest work that is not a translation, if my judgment can be trusted, contains the key of his life, explains allusions in both the *Dethe of Blaunche* and the *Parlament of Foules*, and shows us why he liked to write his other 'Complaints', and *Troilus*, and Tales of troubled love.

¹ It's probably later, and nearer Chaucer's best time.

² See Thynne's Chaucer, 1532, leaf 380, back, col. 1, and other black-letter editions ; also Urry's Chaucer, p. 547, col. 1.

³ A friend challenged me to construe it, and 'place' it : I've done both.

With the *A B C* I do not yet know how to deal, as I haven't seen its MSS. It is an early work, with many lines in halting metre, that I hope collation will remove. Speght, who first printed the poem in his edition of Chaucer's *Workes*, in 1602, Fol. 347, entitles it :

"Chaucers A. B. C. called *La Priere de nostre Dame*.

"Chaucers A. B. C. called *La Priere de nostre Dame* : made, as some say, at the request of Blanch, Duchesse of Lancaster, as a priar for her priuat vse, being a woman in her religion very deuout."

'If this be true' as Tyrwhitt says, the poem must be put before the *Dethe of Blaunche*, and probably before the *Pity*. At present I can't feel sure that Speght's heading was copied from his MS. It looks like a bit of Shirley; but the poem's spelling is not Shirley's. The *A B C* is a translation from the French of DeGuileville's first *Pêlérinage*, is inserted into the prose translation of that work edited by Mr W. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1869 without any notice of its being Chaucer's,¹ and was evidently meant to be inserted in the verse translation of DeGuileville's poem, attributed to Lydgate, of which we have one copy in a fine imperfect Cotton MS. Lydgate, or the unknown author or scribe of the poem, has unluckily left a blank for, and not written in, Chaucer's lines, but he prefaced them by the following pretty excuse for borrowing them :—

¹ cap. lv. [p. 164, *Wright*.] And þanne of þe clowde a scripture she [Grace Dieu] kaste me, and seide me þus : "Loo heere how þow shuldest preye hire. boþe at þis neede : and alwey whan þou shalt haue semblable neede, and whan in swiche olde hondes þou shalt bee. Now rede it anon apertliche. and biseeche hire deuowtliche. and with verrey herte bihoote hire : þat þou wolt be good pilgrime. and þat þou wolt neuere go bi wey : þere þou weenest to fynde shrewede paas."

cap. lvi. [p. 164.] Now j telle yow þe scripture j vndide. and vnplytede it. and [p. 165] redde it, and maade at alle poyntes my preyeere. in þe foorme and in þe maneere þat þe same scripture conteenede. and as grace dieu hadde seyde it. þe foorme of þe scripture ye shule heere. If A. b. c. wel ye kunne : wite it ye mown lightliche. for to sey it if it be neede. (*MS Ff. v. 30, Camb. Univ. Libr.*, p. 112.) See the French original of this at p. 103 below.

[*MS Cot. Vitel. C. xiii, leaf 255.*]

A dove

[leaf 255, back]

brought me a
billet,

I unfolded it,
and saw that
Grace-Dieu
bad me

pray to the

Virgin Mary

a prayer in
the form

of an A B C.

This prayer
was translated

by our noble
poet CHAUCER
from the French,

in honour of
the Virgin.

[leaf 256]

And I pray her
to bring his soul
to Christ,

And whyl I lay thus compleynynge,
And knewh non helpe nor respyt,
A-noon ther kam A dowe whyht
Towardys me, by goddys wylle,
And brouhte me a lytel bylle,
And vndyde yt in my syht;
[And a]ffte[r tha]t she took hyr [flyht],
And fro me [she] gan passe away.
And I, *with*-oute mor delay,
Gan the bylle to vnfolde;
And ther-in I gan beholde
How Grace dieu, to myn avayl,
In that bylle gaff me counsayl
'That I sholde, ful humbly
Knelynge on knes, deuoutly
Salue *with* fful good avys
The blyssede quen off paradys,
Wych bar for Our savacion
The ffrut off Our redempcion:
And the ffourme off thys prayere
Ys ywrete, as ye shal here,
In Ordre pleyntyly—who kan se—
By maner off An .A. b. c.;
And ye may knowe yt sone, and rede,
And seyn yt whan that ye ha nede.

[*End of the Translation: See Hindwords, p. 100.*]

And touchynge the translacioun
Off thys noble Orysoun,
Whylom (yiff I shal nat feyne)
The noble poete off Breteyne,
My mayster Chaucer, in hys tyme,
Affter the ffrenchs he dyde yt ryme,
Word by word, as in substaunce,
Ryght as yt ys ymad in fraunce,
fful devoutly in sentence,
In worshepe and in reuerence
Off that noble heavenly quene,
Bothe moder and a mayde clene.
And sythe he dyde yt vndertake,
ffor to translate yt ffor hyr sake,
I pray thys [Quene] that ys the beste,
ffor to brynge hys soule at reste,
That he may—thorgh [hyr] p[r]ayer—
Aboue the sterrys bryht and [clere],
Off hyr mercy and hyr grace
Apere afforn hyr sonys fface,
Wyth seyntyng euere, for A memorye,

Eternally to regne¹ in glorye.
 And ffor memoyre off that poete,
 Wyth al hys rethorykes swete,
 That was the ffyrste in any age
 That amendede our langage,
 Therefore, as I am bounde off dette,
 In thys book I wyl hym sette,
 And ympen thys Oryson²
 Affter hys translacion,
 My purpos to determyne,
 That yt shal enlwrmyne
 Thys lytyl book, Rud off makyng,
 Wyth som clause off hys wrytyng.³
 And as he made thys Oryson
 Off ful devout entencion,
 And by maner off a prayere,
 Ryht so I wyl yt settyn here,
 That men may knowe and pleyntyly se
 Off Our lady the .A. b. c.

to reign for ever
 in glory.
 In memory
 of CHAUCER,

I'll set his

translation here,

to illumine
 my rude book,

that men may
 know Our
 Lady's A B C.

[*The remainder of this leaf 256 of the MS is left blank,
 the scribe never having copied-in Chaucer's poem.*]

Till I can get copies of, and see, all the MSS of the poem, I must put the *A B C* down as an early poem of Chaucer's, and possibly the first of his works that have come-down to us. If not written for the Duchess Blanche, it may have been englisht. by Chaucer to comfort him in his own hopeless love.

We have thus workt-out the following scheme :—

First Period.

early *A B C* (freely translated from DeGuileville, omitting the last 2 stanzas of the French. See No. V in our *One-Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, and the *Hindwords*, p. 100, below.)

1366-8 *Compleynt to Pite* (perhaps with the *Roundel to a Pitiless Mistress*, "So hath your beauty fro your herte chased Pitee," ed. Morris, vi. 304).

1369 *Dethe of Blaunche the Duchesse*.

¹ MS regne.

² or Orysoun.

³ Compare Scogan's quoting Chaucer's *Balade of Gentilnesse*, though without its *Envoy*, in his *Poem to his pupils*, Henry IV's sons. Thynne's *Chaucer*, 1532, leaf 380, back, col. 1; Urry's, p. 547, col. 1.

*Second Period.*1373 Lyfe of Seynt Cecile¹. (Second Nun's Tale.)

1374? Parliament of Foules.

Compleynt of Mars.

Anelida and Arcite (? before Boece, tho' not mentioned in the 'Legende').

Boece ; and The former Age, "A blisful lyfe," vi. 300.

Troylus and Creseyde.

Lines to Adam Scrivener, ed. Morris, vi. 307.

1384? Hous of Fame.

Third Period.

Legende of Good Women.

1386? Canterbury Tales: this the central time of a work whose parts occupied him, off and on, from his manhood to his death.

¹ J. M. B. says in I. *Notes and Queries*, vii. 517 (28 May 1853), "Chaucer evidently had the following lines of the *Paradiso* in view when writing the invocation to the Virgin in *The Second Nonnes Tale* :

Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo	"Thou maide and mother, doughter of thy Son,
Figlio,	
Umile e alta più che creatura,	Thou well of mercy, sinful soules cure,
Termine fisso d' eterno consiglio,	In whom that God of bountee chees to won ;
Tu se' colei, che l'umana Natura,	Thou humble and high over every creature,
Nobilitasti sì, che il suo Fattore	Thou <i>nobledest</i> so fer forth our nature,
Non disdegno di farsi sua fattura.	That no desdaine the maker had of kinde

Paradiso xxxiii. 1. His Son in blood and flesh to clothe and winde."

The Second Nonnes Tale, 15,504 (stanza 5 of the Prologue or Proem).

Longfellow englishes the above passage, Canto 33, stanza 1 :

"Thou Virgin Mother, daughter of thy Son,
Humble and high beyond all other creature,
The limit fixed of the eternal counsel,
Thou art the only one who such nobility
To human nature gave, that its Creator
Did not disdain to make himself its creature." p. 600.

Professor Ten Brink has, in his *Studien*, tried to show that the *Cecile* was not written before 1373 or after the 8th of June 1374.

1386-7 Truth, "Fle fro the presse," vi. 295.

Moder of God ; ? and Proverbs.¹

Fourth Period.

(1391? Astrolabie, which contains the date 1391.)

1392? Compleynt of Venus (written when Chaucer had been long out of practice in verse-writing : see the Envoy, p. 8).

1393? Envoy to Skogan, vi. 297.

Marriage, or Envoy to Bukton, vi. 299.

Gentilnesse (or Virtues not hereditary), "The firste fadir," vi. 296.

1397? Lack of Stedfastness, "Somtyme the World," vi. 292.

1398? Fortune. "Balade de Visage sauns Peynture," vi. 289.

1399, Sept. Chaucer's Compleynt to his Purse (to Henry IV), vi. 294.

Into this scheme we may perhaps usefully insert the known or highly-probable dates of Chaucer's Life (from Sir Harris Nicolas's memoir, and *Notes and Queries*), though the number of the dates confuses somewhat the view of the succession of the poems, and forces one to give each poem a year instead of a period :—

1340? Chaucer born. (In Oct. 1386, he deposed that he was of the age of xl.² (fourty) and upwards, and had been armed xxvij (twenty-seven) years.)

1357-59 Geoffrey Chaucer's name (probably as that of a page) occurs three times in the Household-Book of Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster, wife of Prince Lionel, third son of Edward III. (She was married in 1352, and died in 1363, and her husband, Prince Lionel, died in 1369.)

¹ The second Answer in the Proverbs is from the Tale of Melibe: "ffor the prouerbe seith, he that to muche embraceth, distreineth [grasps] litel." Ellesmere MS, leaf 162; Tyrwhitt, ii. 267. Chaucer may have applied the Proverb to his own circumstances after 1386.

² I don't think it worth while to discuss Mr Thoms's proposal to change the places of these letters, and make the number lx, sixty. It would just make a mess of everything.

1359 (autumn) Chaucer (perhaps in Prince Lionel's retinue) joins Edward III's army of invasion of France, and is taken prisoner.

1360 Is no doubt set free at the Peace of Chartres in May, which ends Edw. III's invasion.

(1361) (I make him in love with the pitiless Lady of the *Compleynte of Pity*, as he says in *The Dethe of Blaunche*, A.D. 1369, that he had suffered his 'sicknes . . this eight yere.')

? when. In Edward III's service.

1366-8 *The Compleynte to Pit * (Chaucer being probably 26 in 1366). But probably written in 1367 or -8.

„ Sept. 12. A Philippa Chaucer, one of the Ladies of the chamber of Queen Philippa, is granted a pension of 10 marks yearly for life (*Nicolas*, i. 46). (Was this damsel, then, Chaucer's cousin, namesake,¹ or wife? She may have been any of these. All that we know is, that Chaucer had a wife Philippa on June 13, 1374, who had served the Duke of Lancaster, his Consort, and his Mother the Queen (*Nicolas*, i. 19); and that in May 1376, and on the 24th of May 1381, as well as on other occasions², this Philippa (formerly one of Queen Philippa's damsels) received part of her 10-marks pension by the hands of Geoffrey, her husband (*Nicolas*, i. 20, 50, 109).)

¹ Thynne says he had found "a record of the *Pellis Exitus* in the time of Edward the Third, of a yearly stipend to *Elizabethe Chancere*, donicelle Regine Philippa", whom he conjectures to have been the Poet's sister or kinswoman, and to have afterwards taken the veil at St Helen's, London, "according," as Speght had "touched one of that profession in primo of King Richard the II." The *King* provided for her by nominating her a Nun in the Priory of St Helen's. For another Elizabeth Chaucy the Duke of Lancaster paid £51 8s. 2d. on May 12, 1381, the expenses of making her a noviciate in the Abbey of Berking in Essex.

² "Philippa Chaucer's pension was confirmed by Richard II; and she apparently received it (except between 1370 and 1373, in 1378 and 1385, the reason of which omissions does not appear) from 1366 until the 18th of June 1387 (*Issue Rolls* passim, and *the Roll for Easter*, 10 *Ric. II*). The money was usually paid to her through her husband; but in November 1374 by the hands of John de Hermesthorpe (*Issue Roll*, *Mich.* 44 *Edw. III*, translated by Fredk Devon, 8vo. 1835), and in June 1377 (the Poet being then on his mission to France) by Sir Roger de Trumpington (*Issue Roll*, *Easter* 51, *Edw. III*), whose wife, Lady Blanch de Trumpington, was, like herself, in the service of the Duchess of Lancaster."—*Nicolas*, i. 50, ed. Morris.

- 1367 June 20. He is 'dilectus Valettus noster' of Edw. III, a Valet of the King's Chamber or Household (¹ *Nicolas*, i. 6), and gets a yearly salary of 20 marks for life, for his former and future services.
- „ Nov. 6. Gets, by his own hand, £6 13s. 4d., part of his pension.
- „ ? The *A B C* written.
- 1368 Feb. 19. Philippa Chaucer is paid 66s. 8d. on account of the pension lately granted her by Edw. III for services to his Queen Philippa.
- „ May 25. He gets £6 13s. 4d. as part of his pension.
- „ Dec. 25. Robes are ordered to be given to Philippa Chaucer, among others of the Queen's household.
- 1369 Oct. He gets £6 13s. 4d. as part of his pension.
- „ *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchesse*. (She died Sept. 12, 1369.) Chaucer's hopeless 8 years' love "is done," l. 37, l. 40.
- („ March 10. Robes ordered by Edw. III to be given to Philippa Chaucer.)
- 1370 Is abroad on the King's service.
- „ April. His pension is paid to Walter Walshe for him.
- „ June 20. He, while abroad, gets the usual letters of protection, to be in force till Michaelmas.
- „ Oct. 8. He receives his pension himself.
- 1371 He receives his pension himself.
- 1372 He receives his pension himself.
- „ Aug. Before this date the Duke of Lancaster has given Philippa Chaucer a pension of £10 a year², which 'seems to have been commuted in June 1374, for an annuity of the same amount to her and her husband' (*Nicolas*, i. 48): Of course on or just after the marriage of the cousins or namesakes, I say. See below.
- „ Nov. 12. He (then a *Scutifer*, or Esquire, of the King) is "joined in a Commission with James Pronam and John de Mari, citizens of Genoa, to treat with the Duke, Citizens, and Merchants, of Genoa, for the purpose of choosing some port in

¹ In Morris's Aldine ed. of *Chaucer's Poetical Works*.

² Unluckily *Nicolas* gives no proof or document in support of this statement; but he cannot have written it 'without book.'

England where the Genoese might form a commercial establishment."

1372 Dec. 1. He gets an advance, paid to himself, of £66 13s. 4d. for his expenses, leaves England, and goes to Florence and Genoa on the King's business.

1373 Probably meets Petrarch at Padua (Prologue to *Clerkes Tale*).

„ Nov. 22. Is back in England, and himself receives his pension.

? „ *The Lyfe of Seynt Cecile* written.

1374 Febr. 4. Himself receives £25 6s. 8d. for his journey, on the King's affairs, "versus partes Jannue et Florence."

? „ *The Parliament of Foules* written.

„ April 23. By a writ dated at Windsor,—where on this day, the annual celebration of the Feast of St George took place—a pitcher of wine daily for life was granted, 'dilecto Armigero nostro, Galfredo Chaucer.'

„ June 8. He is appointed Comptroller of the Customs and Subsidy of Wools, Skins, and tanned Hides in the Port of London. . . He is to write the rolls of his Office with his own hand, to be continually present, and to perform his duties personally, and not by Deputy.

„ June 13. Chaucer is granted a Pension of £10 for life for the good service rendered by him and his wife Philippa (? as spinster,¹ or wife, or both) to the said Duke, to his Consort, and to his mother the Queen (*Nicolas*, i. 19). See the entry '1372, Aug.' above.

„ He receives his pension of £6 13s. 4d. himself as one of the King's valets.

1375 He receives his pension of £6 13s. 4d. himself as one of the King's valets.

„ ? *Compleynt of Mars* written

¹ If as spinster, and this grant is made on or just after Chaucer's marriage with his namesake or cousin, it would suit well the internal evidence of the *Dethe of Blaunche* and *Parlament of Foules*. Surely, if Philippa Chaucer had been Geoffrey's wife before August 1372, her pension would have been given to her and her husband, as on June 13, 1374.

- 1375 Nov. 8. He (Scutifer Regis) gets a grant of the custody of the lands and person of Edmond Staplegate of Kent, aged 18, who (in 1378?) pays Chaucer £104 for his wardship and marriage.
- „ Dec. 28. He gets a second grant of the custody of the 5 solidates of rent and the marriage of an infant heir aged 1 year, William de Solys, of Solys in Kent.
- ? 1375-6 ? *Anelida and Arcite* written.
- 1376 May 31. He receives his own (£6 13s. 4d.) and his wife's (66s. 8d.) pensions at the Exchequer. (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd Ser. viii. 63, col. 1.)
- „ July 12. Edw. III grants him (dilecto Armigero nostro) £71 4s. 6d., the price of some wool forfeited at the Customs for not having paid the duty.
- „ Oct. ? He gets an advance from the Exchequer of 50s. on account of his Pension.
- „ Oct. 18. He receives his annuity from the Duke of Lancaster.
- ? „ Dec. Is twice paid 40s. by the Keeper of the King's Wardrobe for his half-yearly Robes as one of the King's Esquires.
- ? „ ? *Boece* englisht, and *The Former Age* written; tho' the latter is most probably later.
- „ Dec. 23. Having been in Sir John Burley's retinue on some secret service, Chaucer gets £6 13s. 4d. as wages.
- 1377 Feb. 12.¹ Letters of Protection (till Michaelmas) granted him, to go abroad with Sir Thomas Percy, on a secret mission to Flanders.
- „ Feb. 17. Gets an advance of £10 for his expenses.
- „ April 11. Has returned to England, and gets £20 from Edw. III, for divers oversea journeys on the King's business.

¹ Froissart says that in Feb. 1377 Chaucer was joined with Sir Guichard d'Angle (afterwards Earl of Huntingdon, not the hero of the *Complaint of Mars*) and Sir Richard Sturry, to negotiate a second treaty for the marriage of Richard, Prince of Wales, with Mary, daughter of the King of France. But Nicolas has shown this to be a mistake, though Froissart may have referred to the embassy of Sir G. d'Angle and others for this purpose on Jan. 16, 1378. *Nicolas*, i. 22, 23.

1377 April 20. Letters of Protection again granted him, to last till Aug. 1, he being in the King's service abroad.

„ April 30. He receives himself £26 12s. 4d. for his wages for a mission on secret business of the King 'versus partes Francie.' (This was to 'Moustrell et Parys,' (probably with the King's Ambassadors) to negotiate a Peace with the French King. Chaucer got £22 for this and a subsequent journey, on March 6, 1381.)

„ June 12. He receives his annuity from the Duke of Lancaster.

„ He is paid (? when) £7 2s. 6½d. for his allowance of a pitcher of wine daily from 26 Oct. 1376 to 21 June 1377 (*Nicolas*, i. 21).

„ (June 21. Edw. III dies; Rich. II, aged 11, succeeds him, and his advisers are favourable to Chaucer.)

(1378 Jan. 16. Chaucer perhaps goes with the Embassy to France, to negotiate a marriage with the French King's daughter Mary. The marriage, if arranged, is put off. The *Parlament of Foules* can hardly apply to this.)

„ March 23. Chaucer's annuity of 20 marks from Edw. III is confirmed by letters patent.

„ April 18. He gets 20 marks a year instead of his old pitcher of wine daily.

„ May 10. He gets Letters of Protection, to last till Christmas, being sent with Sir Edward Berkeley to Lombardy, on a mission, as well to Bernardo Visconti, Lord of Milan (whose imprisonment and death Chaucer tells in his *Monkes Tale*: see p. 9 above), as to the celebrated Sir John Hawkwood, on certain matters touching Rich. II's expedition of war (*Nicolas*, i. 24, 99).

„ May 14. £20 for the arrears of his pension are paid 'per assignationem sibi factam'; and 26s. 8d. to himself in advance for the current half-year.

„ May 21. He, being about to go oversea by the King's license, gets letters of general attorney to JOHN GOWER and Richard Forrester, to act for him.

- 1378 May 28. He gets £66 13s. 4d. for his wages and expenses during his Lombard journey (*Nicolas*, i. 24, 99).
- 1379 Feb. 3. He is back in England again, and receives himself £12 13s. 4d. on account of his Pension.
- „ May 24. On account of Rich. II's pension to him, 26s. 8d. are paid, and on account of his Pitcher-of-wine Pension, £13 6s. 8d. are paid, both 'per assignationem sibi factam isto die.'
- „ Nov. Philippa Chaucer receives her pension from the Duke of Lancaster (*Nicolas*, i. 48).
- „ Dec. 9. Chaucer himself receives two sums of £6 13s. 4d. for his two Pensions of 20 marks each.
- 1380 Jan. 1. Philippa Chaucer (Philippe Chaucy) gets a silver-gilt cup and cover from the Duke of Lancaster.
- „ July 3. His Pensions of £13 6s. 8d. are paid 'per assignationem sibi factam' (? isto die). *Nicolas*, p. 101.
- „ Nov. 28. He himself receives £14, the balance of his wages and expenses due to him, 'by the account made by himself¹ to the Exchequer (scaccarium),' and two sums of £6 13s. 8d., and £6 13s. 4d. for his two Pensions.
- 1381 Jan. 1. Philippa Chaucer (Philippe Chaucy) gets a silver-gilt cup and cover from the Duke of Lancaster.
- „ March 6. He himself receives £22, "per manus proprios per assignationem sibi factam isto die²", for his wages and expenses, as well for his journey to Moustrell and Paris in Edw. III's time (see 1377, April 30), about the treaty of peace, "quam tempore domini regis nunc, causa locutionis habito de maritaggio inter ipsum dominum regem nunc, et filiam ejusdem adversarii sui Francie"; which may have been Sir Guichard d'Angle's embassy on Jan. 16, 1378, or may not³.

¹ Where is this, Mr Keeper of Exchequer-accounts?

² *Nicolas* translates *assignationem* by assignment, and draws a distinction between it and 'per manus proprios.' Yet here the two go together, and require *assignatio* to mean 'appointment'?

³ The writer in *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, viii. 63, did not know of the earlier embassy.

- 1381 Nov. 16. Payment of £6 13s. 4d., and also 6s. 8d. to Geoffrey Chaucer (Issue Roll, Michs. 5 Rich. II)¹.
- „ Nov. 28. To Nicholas Brembre and John Philipot, Collectors of Customs and Subsidies of the King in the port of London, and GEOFFREY CHAUCER, Comptroller of the same in the aforesaid port, &c., £46 13s. 4d. (Issue Roll, Michs. 5 Rich. II)¹.
- „ Dec. 21. Payments to Geoffrey and Philippa Chaucer¹.
- 1382 Jan. 1. Philippa Chaucer (Philippe Chaucy) gets a silver-gilt cup and cover from the Duke of Lancaster.
- ? „ ? *Troylus* finisht.
- „ May 8. Appointed Comptroller of the Petty Customs in the Port of London. May execute his office by deputy.
- „ July 22. Payments to Geoffrey and Philippa Chaucer² (of their Pensions).
- „ Nov. 11. Payments to Geoffrey and Philippa Chaucer² (of their Pensions).
- „ Dec. 10. Payment to Geoffrey Chaucer, Comptroller of the Customs².
- ? 1383 *Lines to Adam Scrivener* written.
- „ Feb. 27. To Geoffrey Chaucer Esquire 6s. 8d².
- „ May 5. Gets his own and his wife's Pensions³.
- „ Oct. 24. Gets £6 13s. 4d. for his Pensions³.
- „ Nov. 23. To Nicholas Brembre and John Phillipot, Collectors of Customs, and Geoffrey Chaucer, Comptroller; money delivered to them this day in regard of the assiduity, labour, and diligence brought to bear by them on the duties of their office, for the year late elapsed, £46 13s. 4d.⁴
- 1384 April 30. Gets his own and his Wife's Pensions⁵.
- ? „ ? *Hous of Fame* written.
- „ Nov. 25. Is allowed to absent himself for a month

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, viii. 367.

² Issue Roll, Easter, 5 Rich. II, *N. & Q.*, 3rd Ser. viii. 367

³ Issue Roll, Easter, 6 Rich. II, *ib.*

⁴ Issue Roll, Michs. 6 Rich. II, *ib.*

⁵ Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Rich. II, *ib.* 368.

- from his old Comptrollership of Customs and Subsidies.
- (1384 Dec. 9. ¹*Philip* Chaucer, Comptroller of Customs.)
- 1385 Feb. 17. Is allowed to nominate a permanent deputy for his old Comptrollership of the Customs and Subsidies.
- „ April 24. Gets his own Pensions (two sums of £6 13s. 4d.), and his wife's, 66s. 8d. (Issue Roll, Easter, 8 Rich. II, *III. Notes & Queries*, viii. 367.)
- ? „ Prologue to *Legende of Good Women* written. The rest probably at various times.
- 1386 Gets his own and his wife's Pensions half-yearly.
- ? „ Central period of the *Canterbury Tales*: the best Tales written near this time, the dull ones being earlier or later.
- „ Oct. 1 to Nov. 1. Chaucer sits in Parliament at Westminster as one of the Knights of the Shire for Kent. The Duke of Gloucester and his Council succeed the Duke of Lancaster (Chaucer's patron) in the Government.
- „ Oct. 15. Chaucer is examined as a witness for Richard Lord Scrope; is 'of the age of forty years and upwards, armed for seven years,' saw Sir Richard Scrope 'armed in France before the town of Retters' (? the village of Retiers near Rennes in Brittany) and 'during the whole expedition until the said Geoffrey was taken.'
- („ Nov. A Commission issues for inquiring into the state of the Subsidies and Customs.)
- „ Dec. 4. Chaucer has lost his Comptrollership of Customs and Subsidies, and Adam Yerdely is appointed to it.
- „ Dec. 14. Chaucer has also lost his Comptrollership of Petty Customs, and Henry Gisors is appointed to it.
- „ *Truth*, or "Flee fro the presse," written.
- 1387 Gets his own and his wife's Pensions half-yearly.
- „ June. After this time no payment of the pension of Philippa Chaucer, Geoffrey's wife, is made, and she is therefore presumed to have died by or before Dec. 1387.

¹ *Notes and Queries*.

- ? 1387-8 ? *Moder of God* written.
- 1388 Chaucer receives his Pensions.
- „ ? *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* written.
- „ May 1. The grants of his two Pensions of 20 marks each are cancelled at his request, and assigned to John Scalby.
- 1389 July 12. Chaucer appointed Clerk of the King's Works at Westminster, &c., at 2s. a day (with perquisites, no doubt), and power to appoint a deputy.
- „ July 22. A payment to C. as Clerk of the Works.
- 1390 July. Is ordered to procure workmen and materials for the repair of St George's Chapel, Windsor.
- 1391 Jan. 22. Rich. II confirms Chaucer's appointment of John Elmhurst as Chaucer's deputy for doing repairs to the Palace of Westminster and Tower of London.
- „ *Astrolabie* written (1391 is mentioned in it).
- „ Sept. 16. Chaucer has lost his Clerkship of the Works, as a John Gedney holds the office.
- „ Dec. 16. Chaucer receives payment as late Clerk of the Works.
- 1392 March 4 and July 13. Chaucer receives payment as late Clerk of the Works.
- 1393 Chaucer receives payment as late Clerk of the Works.
- 1392-3 ? *Complaint of Venus* written.
- 1393 ? *Envoy to Scogan* written.
- 1394 Feb. 28.¹ Rich. II grants Chaucer £20 a year for life payable half-yearly at Easter and Michaelmas.
- „ Dec. 10. Chaucer receives the first payment of his new Pension.
- ? 1394-5 *Marriage*, or *Envoy to Bukton* ; and *Gentilnesse* (in Scogan's poem) written.

¹ Patent Roll, 17 Rich. II, Pt 2, No. 340, skin 35. *Pro Galfrido Chaucer / Rex. Omnibus ad quos &c, salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali, & pro bono seruicio quod dilectus Armiger noster Galfridus Chaucer nobis impendit & impendet in futurum, concessimus eidem Galfrido viginti libras percipiendas singulis annis ad scaccarium nostrum ad terminos Pasche & sancti Michaelis per equales porciones ad totam vitam suam. In cuius &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxvij die ffebruarii per breve de priuato sigillo*

- 1395 April 1. Chaucer gets £10 as a loan from the Exchequer on account of his Pension, and pays it on May 28.
- „ June 25. Chaucer again gets a loan of £10 from the Exchequer.
- „ Sept. 9. Chaucer again gets a loan of £1 6s. 8d. from the Exchequer.
- „ Nov. 27. Chaucer again gets a loan of £8 6s. 8d. from the Exchequer.
- 1395 or -6. Chaucer is one of the attornies of Gregory Ballard to receive seisin of a manor and lands in Kent.
- 1396 Dec. 25. Chaucer gets £10 on account of his Pension.
- ? 1397 ? *Lack of Stedfastness*, or 'Balade sent to King Richard,' written.
- „ March 1. Chaucer gets £1 13s. 4d., the balance of his Pension over the advance on Nov. 27.
- „ July 2. Chaucer gets £5 on account of his Pension.
- „ Aug. 9. Chaucer gets £5 on account of his Pension.
- „ Oct. 26. Chaucer gets £10 on account of his Pension, by the hands of John Walden.
- 1398 May 4. Chaucer gets Letters of Protection against enemies suing him, from Rich. II.
- „ ? *Fortune*, or 'Balade de Visage sauns Peynture,' written.
- „ June 3. Chaucer gets £10, his Pension, by the hands of Wm Waxcombe.
- „ July 24 and 31. Chaucer borrows 6s. 8d. each day from the Exchequer.
- „ Aug. 23. Chaucer gets £5 6s. 8d. on account of his Pension.
- „ Oct. 15. Chaucer gets a grant of a ton of wine (? = £5) yearly from 1 Dec. 1397.
- „ Oct. 28. Chaucer gets £10 on account of his Pension.
- 1399 Sept. *Complaint to his Purse* written to Henry IV.
- „ Oct. 3. Henry IV grants Chaucer 40 marks yearly in addition to his former £20 from Rich. II.
- „ Oct. 13. New copies of his 2 grants of pensions are given to Chaucer, the old ones of 28 Feb. 1394 and 3 Oct. 1399 being lost.

1399 Dec. 24. Chaucer gets a Lease of a tenement in the Garden of St Mary's Chapel, Westminster, for 53 years, or less if he dies sooner.

1400 Feb. 21. Chaucer gets his Rich.-II Pension of £10.

„ June 5. £5, part of £8 13s. 5d. due on March 1, for Chaucer's Henry-IV Pension, is received by Henry Somere for him.

„ ? *Parson's Tale* finisht.

„ Oct. 25. Chaucer dies, as his tombstone says.

If this scheme is at all right, it shows a late spring for Chaucer's poetical powers, then a steady advance to the full summer of his genius, followed by a slow autumn of decay, and ended by the chill of death.

I would not willingly add to the gammon and guess that has been mixt-up with Chaucer's Life and Works, but I can't help stating the impressions that are strong on me; and no one will be more glad than myself to see any of the lines in the schemes above shifted to its true place by any such change as that of Mr Bradshaw's lift, in the Canterbury Tales, of the Shipman's Tale and those linkt to it, up to the Man of Law's End-Link,¹ which every one with a head must see is right. I only hope Mr Bradshaw has some such strokes in store for us with regard to the Minor Poems. What otherwise we want especially for Chaucer is, a careful study of the growth of his works by a poet well-read in Early-English, and another study by a man well-read in the history of his time. For the former of these ends we must all beg Professor Lowell and Mr William Morris to work. No happier criticism on Chaucer has, so far as I know, been made, than is made in those parts of the poet-professor's Essay (in his charming *Study Windows* of 1871) that deal with Chaucer himself.—Who, indeed, can understand the humourful bright soul, if the author of the *Biglow Papers* cannot?—And, certainly, no such consummate story-telling as Mr Morris's has been

¹ Temporary Preface to the Six-Text, p. 22.

heard in English verse since Chaucer's time, though it is not relieved by the old man's humour and fun.

I go on to examine each of Chaucer's Minor Poems in detail, setting aside for the present the *A B C*, for the reasons stated on pages 13 and 15.

1. *The Complaynte to Pite*. In seventeen 7-line stanzas: 1 of 'Proem,' 7 of 'Story,' and 9 of 'Complaint' arranged in three Terns¹ of Stanzas; first printed by Thynne in 1532, at leaf 285 of Chaucer's Workes. The Marquis of Bath's MS at Longleat is the only MS copy known to me that I have not printed for the Society. I hope to print it this year. The poem looks not easy to construe; but it is clearly a Complaint to Pity, as 5 MSS read, and not *of* Pity, as Shirley reads in Harl. 78. This Pity once lived in the heart of the loved-one of the poet² (or the man in whose person he writes). But in his mistress's heart dwells also Pity's rival, Cruelty; and when the poet after waiting many years³ seeks to declare his love; even before he can do so, he finds that Pity for him is dead in his mistress's heart, Cruelty has prevailed, and deprived him of her. There she stands, with all the gifts of Nature and Culture on her—bounty, fresh beauty, pleasure and jollity, assured-manner, youth, and good-report, wisdom, estate, 'Drede and Governance'⁴ (l. 41),—but no

¹ I take the word 'Tern' and not 'Balade' for these Threes-of-Stanzas, because M. Paul Meyer insists that 'Balade' is a 'term of art' for a poem of three stanzas and an envoy; and that if any one now, like Shirley or any other scribe of old, calls a three-stanzad poem a Balade, he doesn't know his business. Don't perpetuate confusion, stop it. A Balade without an Envoy is no Balade. 'Trio' has become so monopolized by music, that I thought it better to take 'Tern'.

² My own belief, nay, certainty, is that Chaucer writes of himself, and most likely to some lady of higher birth.

³ I hold it be a sickenes

That I haue suffred *this eight yere* . . . 37

. . . but that is done. 40

This is from the *Dethe of Blaunche*, A.D. 1369. So let us suppose that Chaucer waited six or seven years to declare himself.

⁴ ? Reverenced by others, and ruling them; or timid, tho' with self-command. (Cp. the uses of 'governance' in *Beryn*.)

Pity for her humble lover in her heart. He swoons, then mourns, and, though he sees Pity's corpse, will still believe that it must live, or will revive, in so fair a soul. Then, identifying his Loved-one with Pity, he complains to this Pity, that it is the attribute and crown of Beauty, and must not let Cruelty banish it from its place (*Tern I.*). If Cruelty is to rule, all lovers will be driven to despair. Despair! Yes, out of the depths of it comes the anguished lover's last passionate appeal¹ to his Love and Pity in one:

(*St. 14*) (*Tern II. st. 3*)

Haue mercy on me / thow he[v]enus quene
 That yow haue sought / so tendirly and yore
 Let somme streame of [your] lyght / on me be sene
 That loue and drede yow / euer lenger the more 95
 For sothely for to seyne / I bere so soore
 And though I be not kunnyng / for to pleyne
 For goddis loue / haue mercy on my peyne 98

And then the lover tells his 'peyne': What he desires, that he has not, though his heart is on fire for it. What he desires not, what may increase his woe; that he has, unsought, everywhere.² He lacks alone his death. He knows his appeal to his Love will be fruitless; but still he will be true to her even unto death, meanwhile lamenting that Pity has gone from her heart.

Chaucer's *Complaints* (Pity, Mars, Anelida and Arcite, Venus) are all, more or less, obscure, involved, changeful, and of set form. Rightly so, as it seems to me; for lovers are like people with bad belly-aches³; they groan and moan, mutter incoherent nonsense, turn restlessly from side to side. We could not expect Chaucer to say how

¹ Pope was not a man to understand the quiet tenderness of Chaucer, where you almost seem to hear the hot tears falling, and the simple, choking words sobbed out. I know no author so tender as he, not even Shakspeare. There is no declamation in his grief. Dante is scarcely more downright and plain.—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. *Conversations on some of the old Poets*, p. 16 (Clarke, 1845).

² See lines 90-1 of the *Parlament of Foules*, page 57 below.

³ Unfeeling and disgusting simile. (Sentimentalist.)

bad he (or his friend) was, in his easy couplets of later life. Being bound in the strait bonds of unreturned love himself, he naturally preferred a tied-up form of stanza and of poem to express the thoughts his ropes squeezed out of him. He chose the 7-line stanza and the triple Tern; 7 and 3, mystic numbers both. Short flights of song are often used for strong feelings, whether of pain or joy: witness Shakspeare's Sonnets, Tennyson's *In Memoriam* (no sustained effort till the bitterness of death is past), and Mrs Barrett Browning's glorious sonnets to her husband, &c.

As to date: the *Pity* is, I have now no question, the earliest original work¹ of Chaucer, say 1366-8, the first² in date of his four linkt-together early works,—the *Pity*, *Blaunche*, *Parlament*, and *Mars*. It explains to us (as will be shown more fully by-and-bye) lines 35-40 of the *Blaunche*, and lines 90-1, 160-1 of the *Parlament*, to which latter poem the *Mars* is linkt by its opening lines. And if any one does not believe with me that the *Pity* speaks Chaucer's real feelings, that these are inconsistent with his marriage with Philippa Chaucer³ before September 1366 (who was before not his namesake or cousin, as I assume that she was), I must still ask such reader to allow

¹ The Englisht *A B C* may be earlier. See p. 13-15.

² "So you intend to put the *Death of Pite* before the *Death of Blaunche*? Don't you think the poem is too good for that, especially in style and verse? As for your reasons, no doubt they are weighty ones; but still I think them not unanswerable. In Love, as well as in every other kind of disease, there may be a relapse; and the man who wrote lines 40-2 of the *Death of Blaunche* does not seem to have been completely cured."—*Bernhard Ten Brink*.

³ Poets are curious cattle about love and marriage. They can have a love or many loves quite independent of their wives: as indeed can and do many other men. If Chaucer's wife was not a bit of a tartar, and most of his chaff of women meant for her, I have read him wrongly. I think the evidence of the *Dethe of Blaunche* conclusive as to Chaucer's not being married at its date, 1369 A.D. I doubt whether he was married when he wrote the *Parlament of Foules*; and I take June 13, 1374, to be near the date of his marriage to his namesake Philippa Chaucer. See p. 18, 19, 20, above. Any reader who believes in Chaucer's marriage in 1366, may date the *Pity* in or before that year, if he likes.

that Chaucer wisht the reader of his first three original poems to suppose that the writer of them had the feelings exprest in these works. For my present purpose it matters not whether Chaucer had this hopeless love for eight long years, or feigned to have it: assuredly he linkt his first three original poems together by the expression of the fact or the fiction. [See the *Hindwords*.]

With the *Pity*, I should like much to class the Roundel printed on p. 304 of Dr Morris's Aldine edition of Chaucer, as one of the poet's genuine works, though it is not assigned to him (so far as I know) by any MS of authority. It exactly suits the *Compleynthe of Pite*; there is nothing in it (so far as I can see) to make it not Chaucer's,¹ and it is of the same form as his Roundel in the *Parlament of Foules*, which is quoted on the next page; for it rymes *abb, ab* (with the burden *abb* repeated), *abb* (with *abb* again repeated).

Roundel.

I. *Burden.*

*So hath youre beauty fro your herte chased
Pitee, that me navailleth not to pleyne;
For daunger² halt your mercy in his cheyne.*

II.

Giltles my deth thus have ye purchased,
I sey yow soth, me nedeth not to fayne;
So hath your Beaute fro your herte chased, &c.

III.

Alas, that Nature hath in yow compassed
So grete Beaute, that no man may atteyne
To mercy, though he stewe³ for the peyne.
So hath your Beaute, &c.

I wrongly put the *Compleynthe to Pite* second, instead of first, in the "Parallel-Text Edition." But I didn't find-out its firstness—subject to the *A B C* being before it—till I began to work-out these Forewords.

¹ That's a very different thing, though, from its being Chaucer's.

² Dominion, power.

³ ? sterve.

M. Sandras (*Etude*, p. 107) says, "*La Complainte de la Pitié* se rattache complètement au genre de G. de Lorris," but puts forward no proof of his statement: because he couldn't, I suppose.

2. *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchesse.* 1334 lines of the old 4-accent lines, or 1333, according as the reader admits the genuineness or spuriousness of Thynne's line 480, "And thus in sorrow left me alone", or some substitute for it, in the Lay of the Duke, lines 475-486. I have no doubt that Chaucer did write a line (though not Thynne's) to make his first stanza *aab, ceb*, complete, like his second, for he says himself expressly in lines 463-4, that the sorrowing knight

". . . made of ryme tenne vers or twelfe,
Of a compleynt unto hymself,"

which can hardly mean a Lay of 11 lines; but the line in Thynne lessens the force that *dede* in the last line of the 1st stanza, and *Dethe* in the 1st line of the 2nd stanza, have when they are closer together. Mr Skeat says rightly that the missing line, if any, is the third of the Lay.

(1)

I have of sorwe so grete wone,
That joy[e] get I never none,
[and never bliss; but ever mone¹]
Now that I see my lady bryght,
Which I have loved with al my myght,
Is fro me dede, and ys agoon.

(2)

Allas! Dethe! what ayleth thee,
That thou noldest have taken me
Whan that thou toke my lady swete, 483
That was so faire, so fresh, so fre,
So good, that men may [alle] wel se,
Of al goodnesse sche had no mete.² 486

¹ 'moan' was in English long before 1369: see the *Prisoner's Prayer*, ed. Ellis, and will ryme with 'agone' or 'agoon.' Who will write a better line?

² Thynne prints this line (486) next to l. 483, so as to make the second stanza *aa, bb, aa*, like his first. But this is ruination to the sense.

The mere fact of the additional line being in Thynne, and not in any of the three MSS of the poem¹ that we have, is not of itself conclusive, because Thynne is our only authority for 65 undoubted lines of Chaucer's (lines 31-95) which are not in any of our three MSS of *Blaunche*.

The Proem of the *Dethe of Blaunche* takes-up 290 lines, and is mainly occupied (lines 62-216) with the story of the drowned king Seys, whose wife Alcyone² sorrows so for him that Juno sends Morpheus to pick-up Seys's corpse, take it to his wife, and let it tell her that it's dead. All which is done, and kills Alcyone within three days.³

But before this Tale come a few lines that have convinced me that I was wrong in following prior critics in making the *Dethe of Blaunche* Chaucer's first work, and so heading the 'Parallel-Text Edition' with it. I now feel certain that the *Compleynte to Pite* was written before the *Dethe of Blaunche*. In the former we have Chaucer telling his hopeless love and his despair, his resolve to serve his pitiless mistress till his death. After he

¹ One of those MSS, Bodley 638, is copied from the Fairfax 16, and the Tanner was probably copied from the same original as Fairfax 16.

² "Alcyone or Halcýone. 2. A daughter of Aeolus and Enarete or Aegiale. She was married to Ceyx, and lived so happy with him, that they were presumptuous enough to call each other Zeus and Hera, for which Zeus metamorphosed them into birds, *alkuōn* (a kingfisher) and *kēūks* ('a greedy sea-bird', Liddell and Scott; a kind of sea-gull; Appollod. i. 7, § 3, &c.; Hygin. *Fab.* 65; [also Ovid, *Met.* xi. 272].) Hyginus relates that Ceyx perished in a shipwreck, that Alcyone for grief threw herself into the sea, and that the gods, out of compassion, changed the two into birds. It was fabled, that during the seven days before, and as many after, the shortest day of the year, while the bird *alkuōn* was breeding, there always prevailed calms at sea. An embellished form of the same story is given by Ovid (*Met.* xi. 410, &c.; comp. Virg. *Georg.* i. 399)."—*Smith's Dict.*

³ "A parallel is thus silently produced between the untimely fate of Ceyx who was shipwrecked, and of Blanche who died in the flower of her life, being under thirty years of age; as well as between the exemplary conjugal affection and sorrow of Alcyone, and the anguish excited in the breast of John of Gaunt for the loss of his duchess."—*Godwin's Life of Chaucer*, ch. xxix, vol. i, p. 79, ed. 1803.

be lengthe of certeyne yeres 8
Had, evere in oon, [y]soghte a tyme to speke 9

he spoke and was rejected, he lacked but his deth and then his bere (105). But a man with his nature could not remain a mope, tho' he thought he could. And in his *Dethe of Blaunche* he tells us what helpt most to cure him—books, birds, horn and hound, and the healing hand of Nature,—how long he suffered from his love—eight years,—how it was now all over, and how he had wisely resolved to let bygones be bygones, and not cry for the moon. All this¹ comes out in answer to the question why he can't sleep o' nights :

. . . trewly as I gesse,
I hold it be a sickenes
That I have suffred this eight yere ;
And yet my boote is never the nere ;
For there is phis-ic-ien but one
That may me heale². But that is done. 40
Passe we over untill efte ;
That wil not be, mote nedes be lefte.

Can anything be plainer? Assuming then that all students are right in taking *The Dethe of Blaunche*³ to have been written for the death of Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, John of Gaunt's first wife, on the 12th of Septr. 1369, when Chaucer would be about 29, we find that his first bad love-affair began when he was 21, kept him miserable for eight years,—and during this time stopt, rather than called-out the poetry in him,—but then left him free to work, and later, to enjoy his life.

¹ Except the books, &c., which we get afterwards in the poem.

² Surely this means that Chaucer wasn't married when he wrote it. "From the tenour of the poem entitled the Book of the Duchess I think we may conclude with certainty that Chaucer was unmarried when he wrote it."—*Godwin's Life of Chaucer*, ii. 91, ed. 1803.

³ He made the bok that highte "The Hous of Fame",
And ek "*The Deth of Blaunche the Duchesse*,"
Prol. to *The Legende of Good Women*, l. 405-6, MS Gg 4. 27 Univ. Libr., Cambr.

The object of the *Dethe of Blaunche* being to tell another man's loss and sorrow, not Chaucer's own, there was no need of the involvement, the restless changes, the set form, of the *Pite*. So Chaucer jumped on the well-trained hack of the 4-accent line, and cantered away easily through two parks of Tale and Dream, and Bird's Song and Emperor's Hunt, to the hard road of the Duke's love and loss and grief, and thence straight to the end, though he got rather tired of his ride at last, and pulled-up his old nag short at the finish. Let any one set the *Blaunche* and *Pity* side by side, and see which Chaucer felt. He spoke for himself in the *Pity*, and for some one else in the *Blaunche*.¹ Indeed, I think it quite possible that the first 442 lines of the *Blaunche* were written for another ending, and then used for the piece of deathwork ordered by John of Gaunt.

Well; Chaucer read this Tale of Seys and Alcyone in a book, a 'romaunce' (l. 48), and thinking over it, fell asleep, and dreamt a dream that could not be interpreted by Joseph, or the author whom Chaucer used in his third (or fourth) poem, the *Parlament of Foules* :—

Ne nat skarsly Macrobeus,—	284
He that wrote al thavysyon	
That he mette of kynge Scipion,	
The noble man, the Affrikan—	
(Suche merveyles fortunéd than,)	288
I trowe arede my dremes even. ²	

¹ I admit that Chaucer used-up some of his old experiences in describing the Duke's love and grief in the latter part of his poem.

² Macrobius the grammarian lived about the beginning of the fifth century. He was not a Roman, but probably a Greek. He flourished in the age of Honorius and Theodosius, and had a son named Eustathius. His works that have descended to us are, I. *Saturnaliorum Conviviorum Libri VII*, consisting of a series of curious and valuable dissertations on history, mythology, criticism, and various points of antiquarian research; II. *Commentarius ex Cicerone in Somnium Scipionis*, a tract which was greatly admired and extensively studied during the middle ages. The Dream of Scipio, contained in the sixth book of Cicero de Republica, is taken as a text, which suggests a succession of discourses on the physical constitution of the universe, according to the views of the New

With this dream 'The Story' of the Poem begins. It opens with the song of birds, of which Chaucer was to make so much in his *Parlament*—possibly now planned, if not partly written,—passes on to a gay scene of the Emperor Octavian's hunting, and then to a sad one: a handsome young knight of four-and-twenty,¹ saying to himself the Lay or Compleynt quoted above, p. 33. Him, Chaucer greets. At first he gives no answer; but, after Chaucer has sympathized with him, he describes his sorrows, how death has stript him of all bliss, how he hates his life and longs to die, for false Fortune has played at chess with him, taken his Queen, and mated him². No-

Platonists, together with notices of some of their peculiar tenets on mind as well as matter. III. *De Differentiis et Societatibus Graeci Latinique Verbi*, a treatise purely grammatical. We do not possess the original work as it proceeded from the hand of Macrobius, but merely an abridgement by a certain Joannes. *Smith's Dict.*

Before 1822 the seven books of Cicero *De Republica*, though known to have been in existence during the tenth century, were believed to have been irrecoverably lost with the exception of about a twelfth part, the episode of the Somnium Scipionis, extracted entire from the sixth book by Macrobius, and sundry fragments quoted by grammarians and ecclesiastics, especially by Lactantius and St Augustin. But in the year 1822 Angelo Mai detected among the Palimpsests in the Vatican about a fourth of the work, which had been partially obliterated to make way for a commentary of St Augustin on the Psalms, and the portions recovered were printed at Rome in 1822, but they contain none of the sixth book. However, the Somnium Scipionis preserved by Macrobius tells how Scipio relates that he saw in a dream, when in early youth he visited Masinissa, in Africa, the form of the first Africanus, which dimly revealed to him his future destiny, and urged him to press steadily forward in the path of virtue and of true renown, by announcing the reward prepared in a future state for those who have served their country in this life with good faith. *Smith's Dict.*

¹ John of Gaunt was born in or about 1340, and must have been twenty-nine in 1369. 'Now 29 was often written xxviii, and if the v were dropped by accident, it would read xxiiij.' (E. Brock.)

² There are several passages in this poem upon the death of the duchess, which mark in no common degree the crudeness of taste of the time in which Chaucer wrote. It is scarcely worth while again, as we did in examining the Troilus and Creseide, to quote single lines which are trite, vulgar, and impotent; such as where Chaucer makes his hero say, exclaiming upon fortune,

for she is nothing stable,

Nowe by the fyre, nowe at the table.

ver. 645

thing is left him but to die soon. Chaucer dissuades him from suicide, and he then agrees to tell Chaucer his story.

The present poem has much more considerable deformities. Nothing can be poorer or more contemptible taste, than where the author, after having worked up the imagination of his readers with a picture of the inconsolable distress of the knight, goes on to make him describe his mischance under the allegory of having played at chess with fortune, and having lost the game. [Too true : but C. was perhaps misled by a Frenchman, p. 47, whom he humbly thought his better.] It may however be a still more intolerable absurdity, that his hero proceeds to excuse the conqueror, alleging,

And eke she is the lasse to blame,
My selfe I wolde have do the same,
Before God, had I ben as she . . .
For al so wise God give me reste,
I dare wel swere she toke the beste.

ver. 675

In answer to all this, Chaucer frigidly undertakes to console him by the examples of Medea, Phyllis and Dido, from Ovid's Epistles. These ladies, he observes, destroyed themselves, and are justly censured for their desperation. They indeed were driven upon their fate by the perfidious inconstancy of the men they adored :

But there is no man alive here
Wolde for ther ferès make this wo.

ver. 74

It is in a similar style of insufferable trifling that, further on in the poem, where John of Gaunt is introduced speaking of the verses he wrote in praise of his mistress, Chaucer makes him digress into an impertinent discussion whether Pythagoras, or Jubal the son of Lamech, were the first discoverer of the art of music : and this in a discourse, delivered on an occasion of the utmost distress, interrupted with groans, and accompanied with all the tokens of the deepest affliction. Such are some of the faults of Chaucer's epicidium.—*Godwin*, i, 83, ed. 1808.

M. H. Gomont's opinion on Chaucer's telling of the Duke's story is,

"Enfin, arrive le récit de la perte qui le rend inconsolable. Ce dernier morceau, point capital du poème, est, sous le rapport littéraire, fort inférieur à ceux dont nous avons essayé de donner une idée par nos citations. On y trouve cependant plusieurs de ces traits de nature qui placent Chaucer si haut dans l'opinion de Walter Scott. Mais ce sont des traits fugitifs qu'absorbe, pour ainsi dire, le fatras de mauvais goût au milieu duquel ils se rencontrent. En somme, la narration du chevalier est loin d'offrir cette justesse de sentiment à laquelle l'auteur s'éleva dans ses ouvrages, fruits d'un âge plus avancé. Evidemment, lors de la composition du poème dont nous terminons l'analyse, il n'avait pas encore atteint un de ses plus beaux mérites, la force et la vérité du pathétique."—*Geoffrey Chaucer, Poète Anglais du XIV^e siècle. Analyses et Fragments, par H. Gomont*. Paris, 1847, p. 54. This little book is a set of sketches of Chaucer's principal poems, to make him and them known to Frenchmen.

I was glad to see, after my proofs had come in. that M. Gomont

(More than half the poem is thus over before we get to its real subject at line 759. Still, as centres should be in the middle of circles, we mustn't complain.) On a day in his idle youth, the knight came on a company of the fairest ladies that ever man saw with eye, and among these was one above the rest like the summer's sun above any other planet in heaven. She, with most sweet eyes, soft speech, and fairest neck, is charmingly described,¹ "and goode faire White she hete," or was named.

[P.S. Just now, after returning my proof, I open a volume of Prof. Lowell's lent me yesterday by a clever good-looking assistant of Messrs Reeves and Turner in the Strand, and to my delight come on the following passage about Chaucer's picture of Blanche, and how in it he thought of his early love: Yes, her of stanza 6 of the *Pity*, 'all the gifts of Nature and Culture on her' (p. 29), as she lookt on those she loved:—

"In *The Book of the Duchess*, there is one of the most

had put Chaucer's *Compleynte to Pite* first in the list of his Minor Poems. I hope he did it because he was convinced that that was its right place; but he can hardly have seen its meaning, as he makes no comment on it.

¹ Compare her body with Cryseyde's:—

Hyr throte . . .	<i>Troilus and Cryseyde</i> , bk iii,
Semed a rounde toure of yvoyre §..	st. 172, l. 1198-1201:—
Ryght faire shuldres, and body longe †	Hire armes smale*, hire streghtè bak ‡ and softe,
She had; and armes every lyth	Hersydcès longè †, flesshly, smothe,
Fattyssh, flesshy, nat grete ther-with*;	and white,
Ryght white handes, and nayles rede,	He gan to stroke; and good thрифte bad ful ofte
Ronde brestes ; and of good brede	Hire snowish throte §, hire brestes rounde and lite:
Hyr hippes were; a streight flat bakke †	Thus in this hevene he gan hym to delite.

Mr Bradshaw says too: Compare the scene of Chaucer first greeting and arguing with the Duke, l. 500, &c., of the *Blanche* with the Pandarus-and-Troilus scene in the latter half of Bk I. of the *Troilus*. The former is probably the germ of the latter, where Chaucer has gone so very far from his original. Again: Compare the Duke's complaint for the loss of Blanche, l. 562, &c., of *Blanche*, with Cryseyde's complaint on hearing of her having to leave Troy, in the *Troilus*, Bk IV.

beautiful portraits of a woman that was ever drawn. Full of life it is, and of graceful health, with no romantic hectic or sentimental languish. It is such a figure as you would never look for in a ball-room, but might expect to meet in the dewy woods, just after sunrise, when you were hunting for late violets (p. 95). . . . [After the description of Blaunche, speaks JOHN.] It is like sunshine. It awakens all the dearest and sweetest recollections of the heart . . . the passages I love in the poets give me back an hour of childhood, and are like a mother's voice to me. They are as solemn as the rustle of the Bible leaves in the old family-prayers. The noisy ocean of life hushes, and slides up his beach with a soothing and slumberous ripple. The earth becomes secluded and private to me as in childhood, when it seemed but a little meadow-green guarded all round with trees, for me to pick flowers in; a play-room, whose sole proprietor and manager I was. *When Chaucer wrote this poem, he must have been musing of his early love. How could critic ever grow so leathern-hearted as to speak sneeringly of love verses?*"¹—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. *Conversations on some of the Old Poets*, p. 98 (ed. H. G. Clarke, 1845).]

As good she was as Hester in the Bible, and never—like some of her selfish vain contemporaries evidently—riskt her admirers' lives by sending them to fight in foreign lands,² or go on dangerous fool's-errands,

Goo hoodeles into the drye se,
And come home by the Carrenare³

¹ Quite right, most dear Professor, to whom every lover of Chaucer is grateful: but there are love-verses and love-verses; and one must chaff the nonsense and attitudinizing in some of them.

² Compare the Walakye, Pruse, Tartarye, Alysandre, Turkye, here, with the Puce, Lettowe, Ruse, Gernade, Belmarie, Lieys, Satalie, Tramassene, Palatye, and Turkye, of the Knight in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. (Mr Brae noted this before me, I see.)

³ 'Now my interpretation of the Carenare is, that it is the gulf of the Carnaro in the Adriatic: *il Carnaro*, the charnel-hole: so called because of its reputed destructiveness of human life. Chaucer's residence in Italy would make him well acquainted with the character of this gulf (now called *Il Quarnero*): and if it is true that he visited Padua [in 1373], he would have been [but not before 1369 A.D., when the *Blaunche* was written] in the very place to hear of it. It is, indeed, from a Paduan writer, Palladio Negro, that the Abbé Fortis quotes:—"E regione Istriæ, sinu Palatice, quem nautæ *carnarium* vocitant," &c., showing by this translation of the name into the Latin equivalent *carnarium*, that Carnaro

that she might speak honourably¹ of them ere they came back to her. On this sweet maid was all the Knight's love laid. For long he durst not tell his love, but at last he tremblingly stammered it out, "seyde 'Mercy!' and no more." Then his heart came to him again, and he told all his tale. But faire White utterly refused him, to his great misery. Another year, however, he tried again, and his lady gave him 'all wholly the noble gift of her mercy,' and they lived their married life full

was not merely a name, but a nickname expressive of its fatal reputation. But the most conclusive description is by Vergier, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, as quoted by Sebastian Munster in his "Cosmographie," page 1044 (Basle edition):—

"Par deça le gouffre enragé le quel on appelle vulgairement *Carnarie*, d'autantque le plus souvent on le voit agité de tempestes horribles; et là s'engloutissent beaucoup de navires et se perdent plusieurs hommes."

'If it be objected that *carnaro* is not *carrenare*, it is an objection that might be shown in many ways to be of no moment. The shortest answer is perhaps this,—that if Palladio Negro might translate the epithet into Latin, so might Chaucer into English from his own "careyn" [corpse, carrion]—*careynare*—to rhyme with *ware* in the line following. It may be that Chaucer [if he knew Dante by 1369] was reminded of the fatal character of the Carnaro by Dante's allusion to it in the *Inferno* (ix. 112):

"———— a Pola presso del *carnaro*

Fanno i sepolcri il luogo varo—"

[Even as at Pola, near to the Quarnaro

That shuts in Italy and bathes its borders,

The sepulchres make all the place uneven . .

Longfellow, p. 30.]

which at all events shows that it was at that time a byword of danger and destruction.' (Brae's ed. of Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, p. 103-4.)

Of the 'drie sea' Mr Brae suggests 2 explanations: 1. that it may be the large 'lake near the city of Labac, adjoining the plain of Zireknitz' described by Munster, which was then, and is now (see the *Student* of Sept. 1869), full of water and fish in winter, but dries up, and is ploughed, in summer; and 2. that it may be any frozen sea; as "from a passage in Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. I, page 461, it seems that to encounter severe cold *hoodless* was a feat in amatory chivalry. 'It was a crime to wear fur on a day of the most piercing cold, or to appear with a *hood*, cloak, gloves, or muff'."—*ib.*, p. 105.

A writer in *The Saturday Review* of 30 July 1870 suggests that *Carremare* means the Mountains of the Moon; and that the 'drie sea' is the great desert of Sahara. See the *Notes* at the end.

¹ "That I may of yow here seyn worshyppe": ? not That I may hear men speak honour of you.

many a year, one in heart, in bliss and woe; their joy was ever new. Most pretty work all this is, quite worthy of Chaucer¹.

But then comes a sudden and (to me) clumsy wind-up of the poem. Notwithstanding the plain declaration of the Knight in his Lay or Complaynt, that his love is dead, Chaucer now asks where she is:

Knight. "She ys ded!"

Chaucer.

"Nay?"

Knight.

"Yis, be my trouthe!"

Chau. "Is that your losse? Be God! hyt ys routhe!"

'And with that worde' Octavian's hunting is over, his castle-bell strikes twelve, Chaucer wakes in bed, with the romance of Seys and Aleyone in his hand, and resolves to put his dream into ryme. 'Now hit ys doon.

I hope Chaucer felt ashamed of himself for this most lame and impotent conclusion to the *Dethe of Blaunche* every time he read it: he ought to have been caned for it. Still, the Poem is full of beauties, and is very interesting in its comical roundaboutness of construction as contrasted with the directness of some of his later tales; in its long long enumeration of the charms and qualities of Blanche when set beside the few masterly lines with which he pictures in after-life an Emelye or a Carpenter's-wife; in its first bringing-out to us Chaucer's love of books, of birds, of out-door life, of flowers and trees; in its eye for all the points² of a woman—no man knew 'em like Chaucer;—and yet in its insisting to a stranger, even in the face of death, on the bodily beauties of the Duchess,—a character-

¹ "Tandem pervenimus ad *Galfredum Chaucerum*, omnium illius aetatis poetarum principem, patrem poësis anglicae, ut saepissime appellatus est. Et sane ita appelletur! Primus ille totam linguae anglicae ubertatem et elegantiam manifestavit, asperitatem ejus temperans, versusque arte metrica excolens; primus carminibus suis linguae anglicae vigorem et stabilitatem dedit, poetisque sequentibus exempla, quae dui in litteris anglicis insuperata manserunt."—A. T. Closen's Diss. Acad. *De Galfredo Chaucero*, 3 Dec. 1851. Helsingfors.

² Points of spirit, soul, and body

istic which gave us later the Miller's and Reeve's Tales, and the Wife of Bath ;—in its easy swing of verse, which grew afterwards to be the best story-telling ever heard in English. I see no humour in the Poem : none would have been in place there : but of tenderness and pathos we have plenty. The date is 1369.

On the originality and merit of the *Blaunche*, M. Sandras concludes :—

"Ce poëme qui, dans son ensemble et souvent dans ses détails, n'offre qu'une imitation servile de Machault, est certainement une des plus faibles productions de Chaucer." (*Etude*, p. 95.)

We have now, therefore, to inquire whether the first part of this statement is gammon or fact, and we will take M. Sandras's proofs or assertions one by one.

1. He says, p. 294, note, 'the history of Ceyx and Alcyone is borrowed from the *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse*, as is proved by certain details which are not found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.' I had better therefore translate that part of the *Dit* which tells the story of Ceyx and Alcyone, that every reader may be able to compare it with Ovid's version, and Chaucer's :—

"When Fortune made King Ceyx perish, it behoved him to die in the sea. But Alchione, who was queen, could not so seek, or so do to diviner or diviness, that she could know the truth of it [her husband's death], and so she did nothing but search for him on the coast (*marine*¹) : for, without lying, she loved him more than anything, with pure love ; she tore-out her hair, and beat her breast, and for his love could never sleep on a bed or under a curtain. Alchione had her heart too saddened for the grief she had for her husband who perished, through Fortune, in the sea ; so that she said, weeping, several times to Juno : 'I pray you, rich Goddess, hear my sorrowful prayer (*depry*) !' Many a sacrifice and many a gift she offered her [Juno] for her loved-one ; and, to know where he was, why and when he was killed [or died], she went too much desiring it ; so that the Goddess Juno had so great pity of her, that she sent her to sleep, and Alchione, while sleeping, saw Ceis :

¹ 'Su la *marina* dove 'l Po discende.'—*Dante*.

—now I'll tell you how:—Juno who saw and heard the prayer of her who was of heart devout, humble and whole [single, not double], said to Yris, her loyal messenger: 'Hearken to me! I know well that thou art full nimble and fleet; go off to the God who hates noise and light, who loves all kind of sleep, and hates affray. Thou shalt tell him (1) that I send thee to him, and (2) the mishap (*mechief*) and trouble of Alchioine. Tell him (3) that he [is to] show her, Ceys the king, and the way in which he was killed, where, how, and why.' Yris answers, 'My lady! I understand (*voy*) you well: this message I will do, by my faith, with a glad countenance.' Yris at once, prepared for her journey (?), takes her wings, flies off in the air, covered and shrouded with a cloud. She labours so at it, that she comes to a great valley surrounded by two great mountains, and a brook which rumbles and murmurs (*grosseille*) through the country. There, is a house which is wonderfully beautiful; there, is the God who sleeps and slumbers so that nothing exists which will in reason wake him. Yris enters the mansion, but very greatly wonders that there is in it neither woman nor man on the watch; she herself makes ready to sleep, so greatly is she awed. Within the chamber where the God of Sleep lies, was a very rich bed, and a couch, whereon he lay like a log, in such fashion that his chin lay on his breast, that he moved nor foot, nor hand, nor mouth; and one heard there neither cock nor hen that cluckt, nor bay of hound. No leech or phisician, henbane, poppy, or other means, was needed for sleeping well, for in the place was nothing that cought or snote.¹ Yris said to him: 'Sleeping God, I come to thee from Juno, goddess of all good'—In short, she gave her message very well and irreproachably. Yris did not wait till day came (*n'a pas attendu qu'il adjourne*), but departs, and turns without leave-taking, for she would not willingly stay there. It was the place that kept her dull, sleepy, and sad; she has no wish to return (?) to the God, so she flees from him, and turns away. But the gentle God, who had near him a thousand daughters and a thousand sons, too much vanities and dreams such and such (*tiex et quieix*), of good, of ill, of joys and of griefs (*dieix*), gets back into his bed. But the gentle sire opens, a tiny little bit, one of his eyes, and turns to do, as best he can, that which Iris wants.

The thousand sons who were around him, and the daughters too, changed their shapes at will, for they took

¹ *Moucher*, To snyte, blow, wipe, or make cleane the nose.—*Cotgrave*.

the forms of creatures, so that they appeared to sleeping folk, like dreams. For this, folk dreamt diversely, and in dreaming saw many things sweet and sour: some are poignant, others hard; some are clear, others dark. They knew how to talk the languages and murmurings of all countries. They took the shapes of water, of fire, of all adventures, of iron, of wood; other trade they had not, nor other cares; they went everywhere. The God of Sleep calls one of his sons, Morpheus, and tells him the news that Yris told him from Juno the fair, which is, that the husband (*drus*) of Alchioine lies dead on the gravel (sea-shingle): 'Go and show her how; that she may see Ceys dead, and his boat.' Then Morpheus took the shape that Ceys had, naked; and very soakt and wet indeed he was; his hair was more twisted and divided (!*lotus*¹) than a little rope. Within the room of Alchioine he comes, discoloured, pale, and forlorn²; and reveals to her all the perils into which he has fallen. The God of Sleep had, by his power, made Alchioine sleep in her bed. Morpheus is before her, and says to her: 'Dear companion, see here Ceys, for whom thou hast so lost joy and delight that nothing pleases thee (*t'abellit*). See how I have no colour, joy, or spirit that accompanies me. Look on me, and call me to thy mind. Think not, fair one, that I complain in vain: look at my hair, look at my grizzled beard; look at my dress, which shows true signs of my death.' She wakes, that she may clasp him; but alas! he has no power to return longer. He vanishes.

Thus then the fair one saw clearly King Ceys, and knew surely the manner of his death. ³ But he was lamented by her, regretted and wept-for long, by great sighs poured-forth from the depths (*profondement*), so that Juno wrought in such manner, that for her lamentations she changed their two human bodies into two birds, which flit over the sea, evening and morning. Halcyons (*Alchioines*) have many called them, for truly the mariners who have 'entred farre into the sea'⁴, when they see these birds near them, often make themselves certain to have (good) fortune or tempest." (From the French, in Ten Brink's *Studien*, p. 198-203.)

The reader will see at once how very different the

¹ The only word I can find like *lotus* is *lotir*, séparer, partager.

² *esperduz*: forlorn, lost, fore-gone, farre-gone, in a desperate or miserable taking.—*Cotgrave*.

³ Mais de li plains fu regretés et plourés longuement. Can *li* be for *la*, her, and *plains* be a participle?

⁴ *Cotgrave*, for 'Empoint en mer'

story of the *Dit* is from Chaucer's. If he compares both with Ovid (*Metam.* xi), he will see how much more closely the *Dit* keeps to Ovid than Chaucer does; and he will see also that the only two touches in which Chaucer agrees with the *Dit* rather than Ovid—he differs widely in details from both—is in making the God of Sleep's valley stand between two rocks (instead of being a cave under a rock), and in cutting-short Iris's report of Juno's speech to the God, instead of enlarging it, as Ovid does; which cutting-down was necessary to Chaucer, because he had before given Juno's speech at great length. Of the English and French versions of the story, Chaucer's is far more independent of the *Dit* than the *Dit* is of Ovid. It is clear also that Chaucer's lines 62-107 are not due to the *Dit*; for 'it telles' (l. 73) nothing of the details of Ceys's loss, and too little of Alcyone's sorrow for Chaucer to 'rede' and make him pity. I do not believe that Chaucer ever saw the *Dit*; and I have no hesitation in appealing to my readers to decide with me that M. Sandras's assertion that Chaucer borrowed his story from the *Dit*, is gammon.

M. Sandras's second point is somewhat better made, though it is much exaggerated. He says of the passages that Chaucer has translated or imitated, 'it is enough to set them face to face with the English text, to show that the Book of the Duchesse is a series of reminiscences drawn from the *Roman de la Rose*, and two poems of Machault's, the *Fontaine Amoureuse*, and the *Remède de Fortune*'¹. From the *Roman de la Rose*, a poem of 22,818 lines, which Chaucer translated, he has put 5 lines into his *Blaunche*. Jean de Meung, having told how Charlemagne killed the King of Cicily with his sword, in his first battle with him, adds,

¹ I don't know where a copy of this poem is to be found in England. (P.S. M. Paul Meyer has kindly undertaken to get the best Paris MSS of both poems copied for us; and we will then print them, he editing.)

(Rose, ed. Michel, i. 220)	Chaucer's <i>Blaunche</i> .
Eschee et mat li ala dire, 7387	Therwith Fortune seyde
Desus son destrier auferrant	'chek!' here!
(iron-grey),	And 'mate' in the myd
Du trait d'un paonnet errant	poynt of the chekkere
Ou milieu de son eschiquier.	With a pounne errante, allas!
7390	Ful craftier to pley she was
Car ainsinc le dist Athalus,	Than Athalus, that made the
Qui des eschez controva l'us.	game. 662
(ed. Michel, i. 222, l. 7427).	

Mais partout où elle s'embat,
 De ses gieus tellement s'esbat,
 Qu'en vainquant dit eschee et mat
 De fière vois.

G. de Machault, Remède de Fortune, Sandras, p. 290.

D'un œil rit, de l'autre lerne ;	She [Fortune] ys fals ; and
C'est l'orgueilleuse humilité,	ever lawghynge
C'est l'envieuse charité . . .	With one yghe, and that
La peinture d'une vipère	other wepynge . . . 632
Qu'est mortable ;	I lykne her to the scorioun.
En riens à li ne se compère.	She ys thenvyouse Charite
<i>G. de Machault, Remède de</i>	641
<i>Fortune.</i>	

Tant qu'il avint, qu'en une	¹ Hit happed that I came on
compagnie	a day
	Into a place, ther that I say
Où il avait mainte dame jolie	Trewly the fayrest companye
	Off ladyes, that evere man
	with ye
Juene, gentil, joieuse et en-	Had seen togedres in oo place.
voisie,	Shal I clepe hyt happe, or
	grace,
Vis, par Fortune	That broght me there? nay,
(Qui de mentir à tous est	but Fortune,
trop commune.)	That ys to lyen ful commune.
Entre les autres l'une,	Among these ladyes thus
	echoon,
	Sooth to seyn, I sawgh oon . .
Qui, tout aussi com li solaus	as the somerys soune bryghte
[Compare :	Ys fairer, clerer, and hath
micat inter omnes	more lyghte
Julium sidus, velut inter ignes	Than any other planete in
Luna minores]	hevene,
la lune	The moone, or the sterres
	sevene,

¹ This is perhaps a translated, or adapted, passage.

Veint de clarté,
 Avait-elle les autres sormonté

De pris, d'onneur, de grâce,
 de biauté, &c.

Fontaine Amoureuse.

Et sa gracieuse parole
 Qui n'estoit diverse ne folle,
 Etrange, ne mal ordenée,
 Hautaine, mès bien affrenée
 Cueillie à point et de saison,

Fondée sur toute raison,
 Tant plaisant et douce à oïr
 Quechasun faisoit resjoïr, &c.

Remède de Fortune.

Car c'est mes cuers, c'est ma
 créance,
 C'est mes désirs, c'est m'es-
 pérance,
 C'est *ma santé*
 C'est *toute ma bonne éürté*,
 C'est ce qui me soustient en
 vie, &c.

Remède de Fortune.

Fors tant que tousdis en-
 clinoie
 Mon ceur et toute ma pensée

For al the worlde, so had she
 Surmountede hem al of
 beauté,
 Of maner and of comelynesse,
 Of stature, and of sette glad-
 nesse,
 Of goodelyhede . . .

Dethe of Blaunche, l. 803-
 827.

And which a goodely, softè,
 speche¹
 Had that swete, my lyves
 leche!
 So frendely, and so wel
 ygrounded,

Up al resoun so wel yfounded,
 And so tretáble to al goode,
 That I dar swere wel by the
 roode,

Of eloquence was never
 founde;

Ne trewer tonged, ne skorned
 lesse,
 Ne bet coude hele . . .

Ne lassè flaterynge in hir
 worde . . .

Dethe of Blaunche, l. 917-
 931.

For, certes, she was that
 swete wife,

My suffisaunce, my luste, my
 lyfe,

Myn happe, *myn hele*, and *al*
my blysse,

My worldes welfare, and my
 goddess;

And I hooly hires, and every
 del.

Dethe of Blaunche, l. 1033-9.

¹ Let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice; for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely.—*Song of Solomon*, ii. 14.

Vers ma Dame, qui est	And good faire "White" she	
clamée	hete . .	946
De tous, sur toutes belle et	She was bothe faire and	
bonne,	bryghte	
Chascun por droit ce nom li	She had not hir name	
donne.	wronge.	949

Remède de Fortune. Dethe of Blaunche, l. 946-9.

"Chaucer," says M. Sandras, p. 294, "borrows all his comparisons from G. de Machault,"—who, as is well known, was the author of the phrase *tabula rasa*—

Car le droit estat d'innocence	Paraunter I was thereto most
Ressemblent proprement la	able,
table	As a white wall, or a table,
Blanche, polie, qui est able	For it is ready to catch and
A recevoir, sans nul contraire,	take
Ce qu'on y veut peindre ou	Al that men will therein
portraire.	make.

Remède de Fortune. Dethe of Blaunche, l. 777-780.

"I could multiply these nearnesses (*rapprochemens*)" (Sandras, p. 294, note). No doubt. There is nothing new under the sun: and if one man describes his mistress, says she's like the sun above the stars, speaks most sweetly, is his life and bliss, is rightly called Lily, Rose, or what not; why, of course he copies it all from a Frenchman! What can one do but admire the delightful modesty of M. Sandras, and recommend him to write an *Etude* on our 'divine Williams' in the same strain? Meantime we may safely conclude that the assertion that Chaucer's *Dethe of Blaunche* is only 'a series of reminiscences' from French poets, is mere gammon.

Another point which has amused me much, is M. Sandras's suggestion that Chaucer has gone to a French author for his description of the hunt in his *Blaunche*. To a modern Englishman, the notion of going to a Frenchman to learn the way over a hurdle or a hedge is, of course, supremely ludicrous; but admitting to the fullest extent the debt of our old sportsmen to France for all the show-

off of our old way of hunting, the terms of art, &c.,—it surely was not necessary for Chaucer at the age of 29 or so, after his life in court and camp, to go anywhere except to his own eyes and ears to know what hunting was, and to his own pen to describe it. If he couldn't describe a lovely woman when he saw her, except in French phrases (as M. Sandras imagines), he surely could, in English words, a bit of our greenwood life. Hang it! Who that has ever been across a hunter, or followed a hound, couldn't? M. Sandras even gets stirred-up by Chaucer's lines:—

"In the descriptive part of the Book of the Duchesse, Chaucer wants neither taste nor even originality. It is the story (*narration*) that is badly managed. The first scenes of the dream are full of *éclat*, of movement, or of grace. What richness of colouring when the poet describes the magnificent castle to which he believes himself transported, as the rising sun pours floods of light across the windows whereon is painted the Geste of Troy, and on the walls is seen entire the Romance of the Rose. Soon resounds, with the blast of the horn, a noise of men and horses, and the bay of hounds. The verse becomes imitative, the rhythm quickens, and expresses happily the movement of the chase, and the fascination which forces the spectator to join in the cortège.

Some details of this description may have been furnished, either by the Dit of the *Chace dou Cerf* (Collection Mouchet, vol. i, p. 166), or by the poem which Gace de la Bigne had published (written) in 1360; *but* [no 'if so',] Chaucer HAS appropriated them with talent (*se les est appropriés avec talent*)."

However, by the time that M. Sandras gets to his Appendix, he has come to a right conclusion about this question of the hunt-borrowing; the only pity is that he hasn't extended his statement to three-fourths of his other assertions about Chaucer's borrowing from French authors:—

"The resemblances [*rapprochemens*] which follow, are of no importance. It is nowise proved that Chaucer had read the two French poems: besides, the borrowing would be insignificant."

The mayster hunte, anoon,	Et puis juppe ou corne un
fote hote,	long mot,
With a grete horne blewe	Chascuns en a joie qui l'ot..
thre mote,	Et puis si corneras apel
At the uncouplynge of hys	.iii. lons mots pour les chiens
houndys.	avoir, &c.
<i>Dethe of Blaunche</i> , l. 375.	<i>Coll. Mouchet</i> , t. 1, fol. 166.

And I herde goynge, bothe	Le cerf suit par une valée,
uppe and doune,	En la haute forest ramée...
Men, hors, houndes, and	Et tout homme qui là estoit
other thyng,	Saiches que pas ne se faignoît
And alle men speke of hunt-	De corner, crier, et huer,
yng,	Et vaux et mons de résonner.
How they wolde slee the hert	Et les arbres qui là estoient,
with strengthe,	Et qui double chasseroient,
And how the hert had upon	Il sembloit a tous qu'ils par-
lengthe	loient :
So much embosed : Y not	Si ouyssiez là tel déduit ;
now what.	Car riens il n'y avoit de vuid.
<i>Dethe of Blaunche</i> , l. 348-	Le cri estoit continuel
353, vol. v. p. 165, ed.	Des gens et des chiens autre-
Morris.	tel ;
	Par quoi la playsance y estoit
	Plus grande à qui la chassait.
	<i>Coll. Mouchet</i> , t. ii, fol. 106.

However, if Chaucer did borrow a few things from the French, one of them borrowed one thing from him, as we learn from M. Sandras's pages 90, 295 :

Chaucer, A.D. 1369.	Froissart, A.D. 1384.
I have grete wonder, be this	Je sui de moi en grant mer-
lyghte,	veille
How that I lyve ; for day ne	Comment je vifs, quant tant
nyghte	je veille,
I may nat slepè welnygh	Et on ne porrait en veillant
noght,	
I have so many an ydel	Trouver de moi plus travail-
thoght	lant :
Purely for defaulte of slepe	Car bien sacies que pour
	veiller

That, &c.	Me viennent souvent travail-
<i>Blaunche</i> , l. 1-5, vol. v. p. 155,	ler
Morris.	Pensées et mélancolies, etc.
	<i>Froissart. Paradis d'amour,</i>
	<i>B. I. MSS Fr., No. 7214,</i>
	<i>fol. 1.</i>

"Chaucer and Froissart are the only authors in whom I have found the name of *Enclimpostair*, given to one of the sons of Sleep. One would seek in vain for this name in the Glossaries."¹

There these goddys lay and slepe,	Mais la déesse noble et chière,
Morpheus and Eclympas-teyre,	Tramist puis sa messagière
That was the god of slepès eyre.	Pour moi au noble dieu dormant.
	Et le doulc dieu fit son com-mant ;
<i>Dethe of Blaunche</i> , l. 166-8,	Car il envoya parmi l'air
v. 160, ed. Morris.	L'un de ses fils <i>Enclimpostair</i> .
	(<i>Froissart</i> , <i>loc. cit.</i>)

On the question of Chaucer's originality, I do trust that all our members will read pages 173-4, 210, of Prof. Lowell's essay on Chaucer in his charming *My Study Windows*, a book which all we Chaucer-men ought to buy, and lend or give-away by the dozen—(it's only 18*d.*, or 2*s.* in cloth, S. Low & Co.). He says on the one hand, p. 174 :

"Chaucer, like Shakspeare, invented almost nothing. Wherever he found anything directed to Geoffrey Chaucer, he took it, and made the most of it. It was not the subject treated, but himself, that was the new thing. '*Cela m'appartient de droit*,' Molière is reported to have said, when accused of plagiarism. Chaucer pays that 'usurious interest which genius,' as Coleridge says, 'always pays in borrowing'. The characteristic touch is his own."

And on the other hand, p. 210 (London edition) :

"Chaucer seems to me one of the most purely original of poets ; as much so in respect of the world that is about us as Dante in respect of that which is within us. There had been nothing like him before ; there has been nothing since. He is original, not in the sense that he thinks and says what nobody ever thought and said before, and what nobody can ever think and say again, but because he is always natural ; because, if not always absolutely new, he is always delightfully fresh ; because he sets before us the world as it honestly appeared to Geoffrey Chaucer, and not a world as it seemed proper to certain people that it ought to appear."

¹ According to me, here is the etymology : *Engle* (angel) *im-posteur*.—*Sandras*. Sporting, this.

One cannot say too strongly that Chaucer's originality is a fact, whatever his borrowings may be or not be. I came to the question, accepting M. Sandras's statements, caring nothing whether they proved well-founded or ill, but just desiring to get at the facts. That's the one question for all of us. And I do say that there is much more gammon than fact in what M. Sandras has written about Chaucer's borrowings from French poets, with regard to his first four poems.

3. *The Parlament of Foules*. In ninety-eight 7-line stanzas (lines of 5-accents), with a Roundel of eight lines inserted between the 97th and 98th stanzas. (This Roundel should not be numbered as a 98th stanza.) The Proem takes-up 17 stanzas, its last one being an 'Invocation,' samples of which will occur again. The rest of the poem is all 'Story.' The *Parlament* was first printed by Caxton in 1477-8: a copy of this edition is in the Univ. Libr., Cambridge, and is reprinted in our *Parallel-Text*. The only MS copies known to, but not printed by, me, are in the Fairfax MS 16 (Bodleian Library), and Bodley 638, copied from the Fairfax. In order to give all the unprinted MSS except Bodley 638, I have considered Dr Richard Morris's text of the *Parlament* in his Aldine edition as sufficient, especially as he has rightly italicized the words and letters of the MS which he has altered. The MSS fall into two main groups: I. those in the *Parallel-Text*: Gg 4. 27; R. 3. 19, Trin. Coll., Camb.; the unknown original of Caxton's Text; Shirley's Harl. 7333; LVII, St John's Coll., Oxford; and Ff 1. 6, Cambr. Univ. Libr.¹ Also (more or less) Seld. B. 24, the Northernized or Scottified MS—which some confounded man

¹ On my date (1460-70) for the Cambr. Univ. MS Ff 1. 6, Mr Bradshaw says: "You put Ff 1. 6 far too late. The list of Kings goes down to Henry VI, and when the man makes his calculation as to how long it is from the Creation, he brings it to 20 Henry VI, that is, 1441-2 A.D."

has had the impudence to write a new conclusion to,¹ from l. 601 of stanza 86, leaving out the Roundel; and he has also altered the words in many other lines of the poem. The fragments in Hh 4. 12, Camb. Univ. Libr. (365 lines), and Laud 416 in the Bodleian Library (142 lines)², are also of the Gg type. II. The three Bodleian MSS, Fairfax 16, and (in the *Supplementary Parallel-Texts*) Tanner 346, and Digby 181. The Cambr. Univ. MS Ff 1. 6 was written by two copiers, the first of whom followed the Gg type of MS, while the second, W. Calverley, followed the Fairfax. This was clearly shown by Mr Bradshaw's collation (for the Oxford Chaucer when first proposed) of Ff 1. 6 with Mr Bell's print of Speght's text. But the most interesting structural point about the poem, to a manuscript man, is the Roundel³ (after stanza 97), which Chaucer seems to have written after copies of the poem had been made and circulated. This Roundel is only complete, and in proper form, in one MS, the best vellum one of the Minor Poems, Gg 4. 27, Cambr. Univ. Libr., and it is there written by a later 15th-century scribe, into the blank space of a stanza left for it by the earlier copier of the rest of the poem and the great bulk of the MS. The later scribe evidently thought that there would not be room in this blank space for the Roundel, and so he began copying it close up to the last line of stanza 97, without leaving the usual line's space after that stanza.

[Roundel: in a later 15-century hand: no gaps
between the stanzas.]

(I.)

Now welcome somor' with [thy] sonne softe
That' hast' thes wintres wedres ovire shake
And dreuyne a-way the large⁴ nyghtes blake 682

¹ It's too bad to be Chaucer's. Scotchmen are terrible fellows at 'improving' ballads, &c.

² These two fragments are printed in the "*Odd Texts of Chaucer's Minor Poems*", Part I, issued with these *Forewords*.

³ Mr Bradshaw first called my attention to this, and all the other structural points of Chaucer's poems.

⁴ *read* longe.

(II.)

Saynt volantyne¹ that ert ful hye o lofte
 Thus syngēn smal[e] foules for thy sake 684
*[Now welcome somor, &c.]*²

(III.)

Wele han they cause forto gladen ofte
 Sethe ech of hem recouereðe hathe hys make
 Ful blisseful mowe they ben when they [a]wake 687
*[Now welcome somor, &c.]*²

These three verses the other MSS deal with in this wise: the St John's gives the two last only; the Digby mashes all three (of 8 lines) into a kind of stanza of 7 lines, shifting line 3 of the burden to line 4 of the stanza, and leaving out line 6 of the Roundel³;—Shirley's Harleian MS 7333 leaves it out altogether (with the following stanza too⁴); Tanner and Ff 1. 6 leave it out too, and the rest of the MSS (R. 3. 19⁴, Caxton's original, Fairfax 16, and Bodley 638) have the French sentence—the first line of a French *rondeau*,—"Qui bien ayme, tarde oublie," in varied spelling. The spurious ending of the Selden MS has nothing in place of the Roundel.

Of the *rondeau* of which the first line, "Qui bien ayme, a tarde oublie," is cited in the Fairfax MS, Caxton's edition, &c., M. Sandras found the music and the words in a MS of Machault in the National Library, No. 7612, leaf

- ¹ Some songyn on the braunchis clere,
 Of love . . that Ioye It was to here,
 In worschepe and in preysyng of hire make,
 And of the newe blysfyl somerys sake, 130
 That sungyn "blyssede be seynt Volentyn!
 At his [own] day I ches ȝow to be myn
 With-oute repentyng, myn herte swete;"
 And therwithal here bekys gunne mete . . 134

Legende of Goode Women, MS Gg 4. 27, Cambr. Univ. Libr.
 Compare lines 139-148 of the usual version.

² These two bits of burden in italics are inserted by me. We much want another MS of this Roundel found—but not by a modern Chatterton.

³ Thynne's edition of 1532 gives all the 8 lines of the Roundel, but, like the Digby MS, shifts line 3 of the burden to l. 4 of the stanza.

⁴ These MSS have a spurious Epilogue.

187. The verses form the opening of one of two pieces entitled *Le Lay de plour* :

"Qui bien aime a tart oublie ;
Et cuers, qui oublie a tart,
Ressemble le feu qui art,
Qui de lesgier n'estaint mie.
Quar plaisance si me lie
Que jamais l'amoureux dart
N'iert hors trait, na tiers na quart,
De mon cuers, quoi qu'ilz en die."

(M. Sandras also says (*Etude*, p. 72) that Eustache Deschamps composed, on this burden slightly modified, a pretty ballad, inedited till M. Sandras printed it at p. 287 of his *Etude*; and that a long time before Machault, Moniot de Paris began, by this same line, a hymn to the Virgin that one can read in the Arsenal Library at Paris, in the copy of a Vatican MS, B. L. no. 63, fol. 283 :—

"Ki bien aime a tart oublie ;
Mais ne le puis oublier,
La douce vierge Marie.")

As to the *Parlament*: between it and its two fore-runners there is a considerable stride. The *Parlament* is Chaucer's first real Poem; in it his humour¹ and fun first appear, and his love of nature is much developed. The causes of the difference are not far to seek: he is not only out of French leading-strings, and has toucht Italian soil,—has read the words of Dante and Boccaccio, perchance talkt with Petrarch; has seen the glorious land of nature and art,—but has also grown in power, and has, for the first time, a subject suited to his own bright soul. Still, he can't get

¹ Humour is always a main ingredient in highly poetical natures. It is almost always the superficial indication of a *rich vein of pathos, nay of tragic feeling, below*. . . . In Chaucer's poetry, the humour is playing all the time round the horizon, like heat-lightning. It is unexpected and unpredictable; but as soon as you turn away from watching it, behold it flashes again as innocently and softly as ever. It mingles even with his pathos, sometimes. The laughing eyes of Thalia gleam through the tragic mask she holds before her face.—J. RUSSELL LOWELL, *Conversations on some of the Old Poets*. H. G. Clarke's reprint, 1845, p. 39.

clear of his old form in the *Dethe of Blaunche*, of introducing his subject by book-reading and a dream¹, though he can write such lines as the following, which are englisht from Boccaccio's Italian :—

The sparrow ; Venus son, the nyghtyngale,
That clepeth forth the fresshe leves new. 352

On euery bowgh the briddes herde I synge 190
With voys of aungel in her armony,
That besied hem her briddes forthe to bringe.

On instrumentes of strynges in acorde 197

Herde I so pley a ravysshinge swetnesse,
That God, that maker ys of al, and Lorde,
Ne herdé never bettir, as I gesse : 200

Therewith a wynde, unnethe hyt myghté lesse,
Made in the levés grene a noysé softe
Accordant to the foulys songe on lofte 203

(ed. Morris, iv. 57-8.)

This is a plain advance beyond the *Pity* and the *Blaunche*. Moreover I see in the *Parlament* two allusions to the *Pity*, which confirm my belief that that Poem spoke Chaucer's own feelings. Compare the *Parlament's* lines 90, 91 :

(And to my bedde y gan me for to dresse,
Fulfilled of thought & besy hevynesse ;)
For both I haddè thingè that I nolde, 90
And eke I n'haddè thingè that I wolde, 91

with the *Pity's* lines 99-100, 102-4.

My peyne is this, that what so I desire, 99
That have I not, ne nothing lyke therto . . . 100
Eke on that other syde, wherso I goo,
That have I redy—unsoghte, every where—
What maner thinge that may encrese my woo.

Also look at Aufrikan's words to Chaucer in the *Parlament*, lines 160-1 :

For thou of love hast lost thy taste, y gesse,
As seke man hath of swete and bitternesse :—

¹ Dreams evidently had a very strong hold on Chaucer's mind. See his Nonnes Preestes Tale of Chauntecleer, &c.

these apply to a man like the author of the *Pity*, who has gone through the heart-sickness of disappointed love.¹ This sickness is the same that Chaucer speaks of in the lines quoted above from the *Dethe of Blaunche*, when he is answering the question why he cannot sleep :

but trewly, as I gesse, 35

I hold it be a sickenesse
That I have suffred this eight yere ;
And yet my boote is never the nere :
For there is phis-ic-ien but one
That may me heale. But that is done. 40
Passe we over untill efte :
That wil not be, mote nedes be lefte.

This is the true way to take disappointments. It is no good crying after spilt milk ; and assuredly in this spirit Chaucer wrote of the beauty of the world in May, of the song of birds, and 'somer sonnè shene' in the *Parlament*, and brought up that comical old Goose to cackle out his commonsense judgment on the tercel's suit to the formel, "But she wol love hym, lat hym love another," l. 577, which the Duck backs-up by the pertinent quack :

"Wel bourded,"² quod the duk [tho], "by my hatte!
That men shulde alwey loven causéles !
Who kan a resoun fynde, or wytte in that ?
Daunceth he murye that ys murthéles ? 592
Who shuldé rechche of that ys rechcheles ?
Ye ! quek yet," quod the duk ful wel and faire,
"There ben moo sterres, God woot, than a paire !"
(*Works*, ed. Morris, iv. 71.)

Certainly, Mr Duck, there are as good fish in the sea as ever came out of it. This scene is true Chaucer. Another touch of Chaucer is in the allusion to the wrestling, lines 164-6 : compare the Miller in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, l. 548.

¹ I take the above lines, that come out undesignedly, to be real, and the lines 8, 9,

'For al be that I knowe not Love in dede
Ne wote how that he quyeth folk her hire,'

to be a blind.

² A good joke, indeed !

The story of the *Parlament* is this:—Chaucer, professing to know nothing of Love in fact, but only to have read about it in books, says he was reading not long ago an old book (the 6th of Cicero's *De Republicâ*¹), describing the Dream of Scipio, and how his ancestor Aufrikan told him of the future world, this earth, and the way to immortality. Chaucer then fell asleep, and dreamt that Aufrikan took him to a park-gate, of which one half led to bliss and 'al good aventure,' while the other half led to danger and death², the sorrowful weir where fish lay caged and dry. The poet hesitated to enter, but Aufrikan 'shoofe' or shoved him in at the gates, and there he saw some glorious trees with everlasting leaves of 'coloure fressh and grene as emeraude, that joy was for to sene,' l. 175. He also saw a garden, the description of which he englishes freely, or adapts, from stanzas 51-66 of the seventh book of Boccaccio's *Teseide*³, of which stanzas a literal translation by our good friend Mr William Michael Rossetti follows:—

¹ In Macrobius's *Commentarius in Somnium Scipionis*. See p. 36, above, note 2.

² Compare, says M. Sandras, Dante's inscription over the gate of Hell, *Inferno*, Canto iii. 1-3 :

Per me si va nella citta dolente, Through me the way is to the
city dolent ;

Per me si va nell' eterno dolore, Through me the way is to eternal
dole ;

Per me si va tra la perduta gente. Through me the way among the
people lost.—*Longfellow*, p. 9.

³ M. Sandras, *Etude*, p. 69-70, says that Boccaccio took the leading features of his sketch from the old-French *Vergier de Déduit*. His comparisons do not bear out his statement. He contrasts

Di Citerea il tempio e la stazione	De haus pins
Infra altissimi pini alquanto ombrosa.— <i>Teseide</i> , VII, st. 50.	Refu tous puéplés li jardins. <i>Vergier</i> , v. 1360.

and the other lines quoted in the notes on pages 60-3 below. As between Boccaccio and Chaucer, M. Sandras unduly depreciates Chaucer (p. 70-1), but as he cites no instances in proof of his statements, I leave the question of taste to the reader's judgment.

Boccaccio's Teseide. Canto 7.

(51)

With whom going forward, she saw that [i. e. Mount
Cithæron]
In every view suave and charming ;
In guise of a garden bosky and beautiful,
And greenest full of plants,
Of fresh grass, and every new flower ;
And therein rose fountains living and clear² ;
And, among the other plants it abounded in,
Myrtle seemed to her more than other.

(52)

Here she heard amid the branches sweetly³
Birds singing of almost all kinds :
Upon which [branches] also in like wise
She saw them with delight making their nests.
Next among the fresh shadows quickly
She saw rabbits go hither and thither,
And timid deer and fawns,
And many other dearest little beasts.

(53)

In like wise here every instrument
She seemed to hear, and delightful chaunt :
Wherefore passing with pace not slow,
And looking about, somewhat within herself suspended
At the lofty place and beautiful adornment,
She saw it replete in almost every corner
With spiritlings which, flying here and there,
Went to their bourne. Which she looking at,

¹ i. e. the prayer of Palemo. "Whom" (so worded in this stanza) is "*Vaghezza*" = grace, allurement.

² L'iaue est tousdis fresche et novele,
Qui nuit et jor sourt à grans ondes
Par deux doiz creuses et parfondes.
Tout entour point l'erbe menue,
Qui vient por l'iaue espesse et drue.

Vergier, v. 1537 (Sandras, 69).

³ Ces oyseaux que je vous devise
Chantans en moult diverse guyse.

Vergier, v. 676, ed. 1735.

MS Gg 4. 27, Cambr. Univ. Libr.

(27)

A gardyn saw I, ful of blosmy¹ bowys,
 Vp-on a reuer in a grene mede,
 There as ther swetnesse eueremore I-now is,
 With flouris white, blewe, & zelwe, & rede 186
 And colde welle stremys no thyng dede,
 That swemyn ful of smale fischis lite,
 With fynnyys rede, & skalis syluyr bryzte. 189

(28)

On euery bow the bryddis herde I synge
 With voys of aungel In here armonye ;
 So besyede hem here bryddis forth to brynge.
 The litele conyes to here pley gunne hye ; 193
 And ferthere al aboute I gan aspye
 The dredful ro, the buk, & hert, & hynde,
 Squyrelis, & bestis smale of gentil kynde. 196

(29)

Of Instreumentis of strengis in a-cord
 Herde I so pleye with² rauyshyng swetnesse,
 That god that makere is of al, & lord,
 Ne herde neuere betyr, as I gesse. 200
 Therwith a wynd—onethe it myght be lesse—
 Made in the leuys grene a noyse softe,
 Acordaunt to the bryddis song a lofte. 203

(30)

The erthe of that place so attempre was,
 That neuere was greuaunce of hot ne cold ;
 There wex ek euery holsum spice & gras,³
 No man may waxe therè sek ne old. 207
 3it was there Ioye more a thousent fold
 Than man can telle ; ne neuere wolde it nyghte,
 But ay cler day, to ony manys syghte. 210

¹ MS blospemy.

² MS &.

³ MS gres.

(54)

Among the bushes beside a fountain
 Saw Cupid forging arrows—
 He having the bow set down by his feet ;
 Which [arrows] selected his daughter Voluptas
 Tempered in the waves. And settled down
 With them was Ease [*Ozio*, *Otium*] ; whom she saw
 That he, with Memory, steeled his darts
 With the steel that *she* first tempered.

(55)

And then she saw in that pass Grace [*Leggiadria*],
 With Adorning [*Adornezza*] and Affability,
 And the wholly estrayed Courtesy ;
 And she saw the Arts that have power
 To make others perforce do folly,
 In their aspect much disfigured.
 The Vain Delight of our form ¹
 She saw standing alone with Gentilesse.

(56)

Then she saw Beauty pass her by²,
 Without any ornament, gazing on herself ;
 And with her she saw Attraction (*Piacevolezza*) go,—
 She [the prayer] commending to herself both one and other.
 With them she saw standing Youth³,
 Lively and adorned, making great feast :
 And on the other side she saw madcap Audacity
 Going along with Glozings and Pimps.

(57)

In mid the place, on lofty columns,
 She saw a temple of copper ; round which
 She saw youths dancing and women ⁴—
 This one of them beautiful, and that one in fine raiment,
 Ungirdled, barefoot, only in their hair and gowns,
 Who spent the day in this alone.
 Then over the temple she saw doves hover
 And settle and coo.

¹ This seems to be the sense of the line as it stands printed—
 meaning apparently “Vain Delight which mankind takes in
 Human Beauty.” I suspect some misprint. Or possibly the sense
 is—“Vain Delight, *in* [*i. e.* wearing, presenting] our form.”—*W.*
M. R.

²

Icele Dame ot non Biautés . . .

Ne fu fardée ne guignie . . .

Vergier, v. 1008 (Sandras, p. 70).

(31)

Vndyr a tre be-syde a welle I say [leaf 484]
 Cupide, oure lord, hise arwis forge & file,
 And at his fet his bowe al redy lay ;
 And wel his doughtyr temperede al this whyle 214
 The heuedis in the welle, & with hire wile
 She couchede hem aftyr they shulde serve,
 Some for to sle, & some to wounde & kerve. 217

(32)

Tho was I war of ⁵Plesaunce a-non ryght,
 And of Aray, and Lust, & Curteysie,
 And of the Craft that can & hath the myght
 To don be-fore a wight to don folye,— 221
 Disfigurat was she, I nyl nat lye ;—
 And by hem self vndyr an ok, I gesse,
 Saw I Delyt that stod with Gentillesse. 224

(33)

I saw Beute with-outyn ony a-tyr,
 And 3outhe ful of game & jolyte,
 Fool-hardynesse, & Flaterye, & Desyr
 Messagerye, & Meede & oper thre— 228
 Here namys shul not here be told for me ;—
 And vp on pileris greete of jasper longe
 I saw a temple of bras i-founded stronge. 231

(34)

Aboute that temple daunsedyn alwey
 Wemen i-nowe ; of whiche some ther weere
 Fayre of hem self, & some of hem were gay ;
 In kertelis al discheuele wente they there ; 235
 That was here offys alwey 3er be 3eere
 And on the temple, of dowis white & fayre
 Saw I syttynge manye an hunderede peyre. 238

³ Jeunesse au visaige riant,
 Car moult estoit joyeuse et gaie.
Vergier, v. 1259, ed. 1735.

⁴ Ceste gent dont je vous parole,
 S'estoient pris à la carole.
Vergier, v. 730 (Sandras, p. 70).

⁵ I put capitals to proper names; small letters to common nouns, and make I, i, occasionally.

(58)

And near to the entry of the temple
She saw that there sat quietly
My lady Peace, who a curtain
Moved lightly before the door.
Next her, very subdued in aspect,
Sat Patience discreetly,
Pallid in look ; and on all sides
Around her she saw artful Promises.

(59)

Then, entering the temple, of Sighs
She felt there an earthquake, which whirled
All fiery with hot desires.
This lit up all the altars
With new flames born of pangs ;
Each of which dripped with tears
Produced by a woman cruel and fell
Whom she there saw, called Jealousy.

(60)

And in that [temple] she saw Priapus hold
The highest place—in habit just such as
Whoever would at night see him
Could, when braying the animal
Dullest of all awoke Vesta, who to his mind
Was not a little—towards whom he in like guise
Went : and likewise throughout the great temple
She saw many garlands of diverse flowers.

(61)¹

Here many bows of the Chorus of Diana
She saw hung up and broken ; among which was
That of Callisto, become the Arctic
Bear. The apples were there of haughty
Atalanta, who was sovereign in racing ;
And also the arms of that other proud one
Who brought forth Parthenopæus,
Grandson to the Calydonian King Ceneus.

¹ In comparing the succeeding stanzas of Boccaccio with those of Chaucer, note the transpositions which the latter has introduced in the sequence of stanzas.—W. M. R.

(35)

By-fore the temple dore / ful sobyrly
 Dame Pes sat *with* / a *curtyn* in hire hond ;
 And by hire syde / wondyr discretly
 Dame Pacience / syttyng there I fond, 242
 With face pale / vp-on an hil of sond ;
 And aldirmex / with-inne & ek *with*-oute
 Byheste & art / & of here folk a route. 245

(36)

With-inne the temple / of sykys hoote as fuyr [*leaf 484, back*]
 I herde a swow / that gan a-boute renne ;
 Whiche sikis were engenderede with desyr,
 That madyn euery auter for to brenne 249
 Of newe flaume ; & wel espyed I thenne
 That¹ alle the cause of sorwe that they drye,
 Cam of the bittere goddesse Ielosye / 252

(37)

The god Priapus saw I as I wente
 With-inne the temple / in souereyn place stonde
 In swich aray as whan² the asse hym shente
 With cri be nyghte, & with septime in³ honde : 256
 Ful besyly men gunne asaye & fonde
 Vp-on his hed to sette, of sundery hewe
 Garlondis ful of flourrys frosche & newe. 259
 [*Chaucer's order is altered now : see p. 67.*]

(41)

That, In dispit of Dyane the chaste, [*leaf 485*]
 Ful manye a bowe i-broke hyng on the wal,
 Of maydenys, swiche as gunne here tymys waste
 In hyre seruyse. I-peyntede were oueral 284
 Ful manye a story of whiche I touche shal
 A fewe / as of Calyxte⁴, & Athalante,
 And manye a mayde of whiche the name I wante 287

¹ That *altered*.

² MS In his.

³ MS wan, s *scratched* out.

⁴ MS Calyote.

(62)

She saw there histories painted all about ;
 Among which with finer work
 Of the spouse of Ninus she there [berry-tree
 Saw all the doings distinguished ; and at foot of the mul-
 Pyramus and Thisbe, and the mulberries already distained ;
 And she saw among these the great Hercules
 In the lap of Iole, and woeful Biblis
 Going piteous, soliciting Caunus.

(63)

But, as she saw not Venus, it was told her
 (Nor knew she by whom)—“ In secreter
 Part of the temple stays she delighting.
 If thou wantest her, through that door quietly
 Enter.” Wherefore she, without further demur,
 Meek of manner as she was,
 Approached thither to enter within,
 And do the embassy to her committed.

(64)

But there she, at her first coming,
 Found Riches guarding the portal¹—
 Who seemed to her much to be revered :
 And, being by her allowed to enter there,
 The place was dark to her at first going.
 But afterwards, by staying, a little light
 She gained there ; and saw her lying naked
 On a great bed very fair to see.

(65)

But she had hair of gold, and shining
 Round her head without any tress.
 Her face was such that most people
 Have in comparison no beauty at all.
 The arms, breast, and outstanding apples,
 Were all seen ; and every other part with a
 Texture so thin was covered
 That it showed forth almost as naked.

(66)

The neck was fragrant with full a thousand odours.
 At one of her sides Bacchus was seated,
 At the other Ceres with her savours.
 And she in her hands held the apple,
 Delighting herself, which, to her sisters
 Preferred, she won in the Idean vale.
 And, having seen all this, she [the prayer] made her re-
 Which was conceded without denial. [quest,

¹ *Près de Biauté se tint Richece,
 Une dame de grant hautece.*—*Vergier*, v. 1020 (Sandras, p. 70).

(42)

Semyramus, Candace, & Hercules,
 Biblis, Dido, Thisbe, & Piramus,
 Tristram, Isaude, Paris, & Achilles,
 Elynè, Cliopatre, & Troylus¹, 291
 Silla, & ek the modyr of Romulus :—
 Alle these were peyntid on that othir syde,
 And al here loue, & in what plyt they deyde. 294

(38)

And In a² priue corner / In desport
 Fond I Venus³

& hire porter Richesse,

That was ful noble & hauntayn of hyre port.
 Derk was that place, but afterward, lightnesse 263
 I saw a lyte—vnnethe it myȝte be lesse ;—
 And on a bed of gold sche lay to reste,
 Tyl that the hote sunne gan to weste. 266

(39)

Hyre gilte heris with a goldene thred
 I-bounden were, vntrussede as sche lay ;
 And nakyd from the brest vp to the hed
 Men myȝthe hyre sen / &, sothly for to say, 270
 The remenaunt was wel keuerede, to myn pay,
 Rygh[t] with a subtyl couercheif / of valence ;
 Ther nas no thikkere cloth / of no defense. 273

(40)

The place ȝaf a thousent sauouris sote ;
 And Bacus, god of wyn, sat hire be syde ;
 And Sereis⁴ next, that doth of hungir boote ;
 And as I seyde, a-myddis lay Cupide,⁵ 277
 To wham on kneis two ȝonge folk there cryede
 To ben here helpe / but thus I let hem lye,
 And ferthere in the temple I gan espie. 280

¹ Troylis.

² a altered from n.

³ MS feb₃ (febus).

⁴ ei altered.

⁵ MS Cypride.

In this garden, on a hill of flowers, sits Queen Nature, and round her, on branches, are birds of every kind,¹ come, as of wont, to choose their mates on this, St Valentine's, day. On Nature's hand is a beautiful female eagle, the prize of the flock; and for her, three tercel (or male) eagles—one a royal bird, the other two of lower degree,—prefer their claims at great length, till sunset, but cannot settle which is to have her. The rest of the birds grumble at this 'cursed pledyng,' and the Goose and Cuckoo propose to give their verdict on the case, and settle it. But Nature says that one bird of each flock shall be chosen to give judgment in the name of the whole. So the Tercelet of the Falcon, for the birds of ravine, says that, though the three tercel might fight for the formel, yet she ought to have 'the worthiest of knighthood, who had longest practist it, the one most of estate, and gentlest of blood': and which that is, it is easy to know,—the royal Tercel. Then the Goose, for the water-fowl, says 'Peace now! Give heed to me! my wit is sharp. If she won't love him, let him love another.' For this the Sparhawk calls the sensible Goose a fool; and the Turtle-Dove, for the seed-fowl, declares that the Tercel must never change, but love his love till he dies, however distant she is to him. This, the Duck thinks a good joke (see the quotation, p. 58 above). 'Love, when no love's given you! Gammon! Change! and love where you're loved. There are more stars than one pair.' This 'dunghille' sentiment the Tercelet rebukes; and the Cuckoo, for worm-eating birds, then advises that both Tercel and Formel shall live single all their lives. (It's what I do, thinks the Cuckoo.) This advice is savagely scouted by the Merlin;

¹ They are described, with more or less happiness of epithet. On 'the storke, wreker of avowterie,' see the story in R. Bell's notes from Bp. Stanley's *History of Birds*, 6th edit. p. 322, of how a stork at Smyrna, with his brother-storks, peckt his wife-stork to bits, because she had, during his absence, hatcht some hen's eggs put under her, (clear adultery,) her own having been stolen.

and then Nature bids the Formel take her choice, but advises her to choose the Royal Tercel. The formel, however, declines, and asks for a year's respite, which Nature grants her, exhorting the three Tercels to serve her for this short time, and see what then will come. The cause being thus put-off for judgment, Nature gives the other birds leave to go.

And, Lord ! the blysse and joy[e] that they make !
 For eche of hem gon other in his wynges take,
 And with her nekkes eche gan other wynde,
 Thankyng alwey the noble goddesse of kynde.

A pretty picture, isn't it Well, the birds sing the glad Roundel given above, p. 54-5, whose note was made in France, and fly away. Chaucer wakes, and his poem of greenery, sun, and birds' sweet song, is done.

(The text sadly wants editing by a man with a good ear.)

It must be evident to every reader that Chaucer wasn't thinking of birds only when he wrote of the heroine and leading characters of his *Parlament*. The question then is, can a Lady be found in the latter part of the 14th century—after November 1373, when Chaucer came back from Italy, or, at least, after he is likely to have read Boccaccio's *Teseide*—who was 'of shape the gentileste, the most benigne and eke the goodlyeste,' who was sued by one royal, and two noble and gentle, lovers on a St Valentine's day, and who askt for a year's respite¹? One writer in a weekly journal known for its assumption of superior knowledge and accuracy, has not hesitated to say Yes to the main points of the question above, and with the usual cocksureness of

¹ Godwin makes this poem refer to the courtship of Blanche by John of Gaunt, whom she put-off for a year (see *The Dethe of Blaunche*, p. 41, above). Godwin therefore dates the poem 1358, and says that the first eagle 'is plainly the earl of Richmond.'—*Life of Chaucer*, i. 444. This date for the poem is absurd ; and as Chaucer had in the *Blaunche* given John of Gaunt's own account of his courtship of Blanche, the poet would not have given another out of his own head in the *Parlament*, differing wholly from the widower's.

a Saturday-Reviewer, has named the date and leading personages of Chaucer's *Parlament of Foules*—

"But although the date of 1328 [as the supposed date of Chaucer's birth] will not give a probable conjecture, it is otherwise with the true date of 1345.¹ When Chaucer was eighteen or nineteen years of age, King John of France returned to London, and on his road from Dover, in February 1364, was met by the King and Queen of England. Froissart, then in the service of Queen Philippa,² tells how the royal guest was entertained in the palace of Eltham, and how young Enguerrand, the seventh Lord de Couci, danced and sang and was the delight of all eyes, English as well as French. He was a stranger here, a hostage by the Treaty of Bretigny.³ He was allied to the Royal Houses of France and Scotland; claimed Alsace in right of his mother, Catherine, daughter of Leopold, Duke of Austria; and had already distinguished himself as a knight worthy of all honour, by the relief of distressed damsels from the fury of the Jacquerie. In the hall of Eltham he won the heart of Isabel Plantagenet, to whom he was married after a year's respite. The desire of Edward III. to draw to him the great lords of France would lead Chaucer, who was of the King's household at the latest within three years from this time, to make so welcome an alliance the subject of his verse. It was in the month of February that De Couci was so favourably regarded at Eltham. The plan of the poem accords with the second title, the *Book of St. Valentine's Day*. The heroine is wooed and half won on the 14th of February."—*Saturday Review*, April 15, 1871, p. 468, col. 2.

The positiveness of this assertion took me in at first;⁴ and the year's respite, and "the 14th of February" came so pat; but recollecting the parody of Punch's counsel, "To persons about to trust the *Saturday Review*—Don't," I turned to Froissart, and then to Barnes's History of Edward III, to see what they said on the matter: and with this result:—

¹ This takes Chaucer's 'xl. (fourty) years and upwards' in 1386 to mean 41, that he was then 41 years old. With Mr E. A. Bond, I take it to mean more, say 46.

² *Froissart*, i, 308, ed. 1842 (Johnes). F.

³ 8 May 1360. *Frois.* i. 291. F.

⁴ I hadn't the poem, or my notes, to refer to.

Johnes's Froissart, ed. 1842, i. 308.

"The third day he [King John of France] set out [from Canterbury], taking the road to London, and rode on until he came to Eltham, where the king of England was, with a number of lords ready to receive him. It was on a Sunday in the afternoon, that he arrived: there were, therefore, between this time and supper, many grand dances and carols. The young lord de Coucy was there, who took pains to shine in his dancing and singing whenever it was his turn. He was in great favour with both the French and English; for whatever he chose to do he did well and with grace.

"I can never relate how very honourably and magnificently the king and queen of England received king John. On leaving Eltham, he went to London; and, as he came near, he was met by the citizens dressed out in their proper companies, who greeted and welcomed him with much reverence, and attended him with large bands of minstrels, unto the palace of the Savoy, which had been prepared for them."

Barnes's Hist. of K. Edward III, p. 635, An. Dom. 1364, An. Regni Angliæ xxxviii. [? Froissart toucht-up.]

"On Sunday after Dinner, King John came thither [to Eltham], where he was highly caressed and embraced by the King and Queen of England, and between that and Supper-time there was nothing but Princely Diversions, of Dancing, Singing, and Carolling. But especially the young Lord *Ingelram* of *Coucy* set himself forth to entertain the two Kings, and daunced so pleasantly, and sang so sweetly, that he extreemly satisfied the whole Presence, and wan the Commendations both of the French and English Nobility, who were all delighted to behold and hear him; for all that ever he did, became him wonderfully. At this time the Lady Isabella, Eldest Daughter to King Edward, began to cast her Affections upon that Gallant Lord,¹ and became so serious therein, that shortly we shall find it a Match. Soon after, the Court removed from Eltham toward London, but in the way the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with an Honourable Retinue, met the two Kings on Black-Heath, and so conducted them over the Bridge thro' the City with Sounding of Trumpets." . . .

¹ Mr Barnes, where did you get this from? The Saturday-Reviewer afterwards assured me he had not seen Barnes.

Barnes's History of K. Edward III, p. 667. Chap. xii.
A.D. 1365, An. R. A. xxxiv.

'§ IX. At this time King Edward¹ gave his Daughter the Lady Isabella in Marriage to the Young Lord *Ingelram de Guisnes*; the Rites being performed with Great Pomp and Splendor at the Famous Castle of Windsor. The said Lord was by Birth a Baron both of England and of France."

(*Barnes's Hist. of K. Edward III*, p. 670, A.D. 1366.

K. Edward makes the Lord of Coucy *Earl of Bedford*,² and gives him a grant of 1000 Marks a year, as also 30 marks more out of the Issues of the County of Bedford.³

Lit. Dom. D. Vid. MS. Rot. Parl. p. 99, § 13, and Sir Rob. Cotton's Abridgment, p. 103, § 13.)

These extracts left me no nearer to the desired 14th of February; and so there was nothing for it but an afternoon at the Record-Office, to see the Patent-Rolls for February 1364, which, being copies of the letters-patent issued and sealed for the King by the Chancellor who was always in attendance on the sovereign, show day by day where the Court was. As might have been expected perhaps, these Rolls showed that the King was not at Eltham, but at Westminster, on the 14th of February 1363-4, and so the *Saturday* bubble was burst. Moreover, we have seen that Froissart says it was on a *Sunday* that Edw. III entertained John of France at Eltham. Now Mr Skeat informs me that the 14th of February 1364 was on a *Wednesday*; so that here again is the bubble burst. Once more: the

¹ Pat. 39, ed. 3, p. 2, m. 8, &c. Ashmole, p. 669, and Sandford, p. 178, and Dugdale, p. 761, and Mill's Catal. Hon. p. 440, and Knighton, p. 2628, n. 40, &c.

² Dugd. 1 vol. Baron, p. 761, b.

³ *Bedford*. II. 1366. Ingelram de Coucy, son-in-law of King Edw. III, created Earl of Bedford by charter, 11 May 1366, to him and the heirs male of his body by the Lady Isabel; K. G.; after the death of his father-in-law he resigned to King Richard II, in 1377, all he held from him in faith and homage, surrendered the insignia of the Garter, and discontinued the title of Bedford; taken prisoner at the battle of Nicopolis, and died at Bursa in Natolia, 18 Feb. 1396-7, S. P. M., when the title became extinct. —*Nicolas's Historic Peerage*, ed. Courthope.

context in Froissart leaves no doubt that January, and not February, was the month of King John's visit to England. And as the Sundays in January 1363-4 were, Jan. 7, 14, 21, and 28, and a further search in the prior Patent-Roll of Edward III showed that Jan. 14 was the only one of these Sundays on which Edw. III was at Eltham—though he may have been there on Jan. 7—we may safely conclude that the Eltham entertainment took place on either Jan. 14 or 7, 1364. Here is the January list from the Patent-Roll:—

1 Jan, 1363-4.	¹	17 Jan. 1363-4.	
2 " "	Westminster.	18 " "	Westminster.
3 " "	Westminster.	19 " "	
4 " "		20 " "	Westminster.
5 " "		21 " "	Westminster.
6 " "		22 " "	Westminster.
7 " "	Shene and W.	23 " "	W. & Eltham.
8 " "	W. and Shene	24 " "	W. & Eltham.
9 " "	Shene.	25 " "	
10 " "	W. & Windsor.	26 " "	Westminster.
11 " "	Eltham.	27 " "	W. & Eltham.
12 " "		28 " "	Westminster.
13 " "	Eltham.	29 " "	Westminster.
14 " "	Eltham.	30 " "	Westminster. ²
15 " "	Westminster.	31 " "	
16 " "			

The *Saturday* people may perhaps think it mean for one thus to colensoize one of their good-looking articles at £3 10s., meant to sell the paper. But if imaginative writers will give dates, they must expect to be brought to book. (I add here the list of places where the Court was on every day in February for which I found an entry, as

¹ For the days left blank I found no entry.

² I add the March entries that I took-down, in a note:—

1 March 1363-4	W. & Eltham.	12 March 1363-4.	Westminster.
2 " "	(not found)	13 " "	(not found)
3 " "	Westminster.	14 " "	Westminster.
4 " "	Westminster.	16 " "	Westminster.
5 " "	(not found)	17 " "	Westminster.
6 " "	(not found)	18, 19 " "	(not found)
7 " "	Eltham & W.	20 " "	Westminster.
8 " "	Westminster.	21 " "	(not found)
9 " "	(not found)	22 " "	" "
10 " "	Westminster.	23 " "	Eltham.
11 " "	Westminster.	24 " "	Eltham.

such lists are sure to come in handy for some one some day :—

1 Feb. 1363-4	Westminster.	Jn. de Stopeham, &c., and
2 "	(no entry found)	outlaws.)
3 "	Westminster.	15 Feb. 1363-4 Westminster.
4 "	Eltham & West.	16 " (not found)
5 "	Westminster.	17 " (not found)
6 "	Westminster.	18 " Westminster.
7 "	Westminster.	19 " (not found)
8 "	Westminster.	20 " Westminster.
9 "	Westminster.	21 " W. and Shene.
10 "	(no entry found)	22 " Eltham & W.
11 "	Westminster.	23 " (not found)
12 "	Westminster	24 " Westminster.
	and Shene (1 letter at Shene,	25 " Westminster.
	to many at Westminster).	26 " Westminster.
13 "	Westminster.	27 " Westminster.
14 "	Westminster	28 " Westminster.
	(4 Patents sealed : some are	29 " Westminster.)
	pardons to John Atte Wode,	

Having thus disposed of "the 14th of February in 1364," we may hold to our belief that the *Parlament of Foules* was not written till after November 1373, when Chaucer probably brought back with him from Italy a MS of Boccaccio's *Teseide*; though if the advocates of an earlier date believe in a MS of the *Teseide* (which was written in 1341) having reacht Chaucer's hands in England before that time, we may suggest to them that he probably knew Italian in 1372 (and before),—as he was in that year (Nov. 12) joined in commission with two Genoese citizens,—and that his 'langagez,' as Laneham has it, were, no doubt, the cause of his being sent by Edw. III to Italy in 1372-3.

Be that as it may, we may conclude that the heroine and hero of the *Parlament of Foules* are still to seek. What historical man will give us a good guess at them?

As to the originality of the *Parlament*, M. Sandras, *Etude*, p. 65, says that the poem is probably original, and that Warton's conjecture that the first idea of it was borrowed from the *Roman des Oiseaux* rymed by Gace de la Bigne, is baseless: there is no resemblance between the two works. But, says M. Sandras, it is not in nature, in

the drama of human life, that Chaucer sought his inspirations; he got them from books; and has laid under contribution Cicero, Statius, Dante, Guillaume de Lorris, Boccaccio, Alanus de Insula¹, G. de Machault, and perhaps some writer on Birds (*Etude*, p. 66). No doubt Chaucer has woven his dear old books into his poem; but any one who can't hear the birds, feel the breeze, and scent the fragrance, of Nature in it, is a noodle, be he a distinguished French critic or not.

On Chaucer's much-praised line, "Nature, the vicar of the almighty god," l. 379, M. Sandras says, p. 71, that 'it is in the *Roman de la Rose*, v. 16980-3.' Well, it is there in a fashion; but not in Chaucer's fashion; it is quite swampy by the 'chamber-maid'² element. Read this, from Michel's edition, ii. 195-6, l. 17706—

Cis Diex³ méismes, par sa grâce,
 Quant il i ot, par ses devises⁴,
 Ses autres créatures mises,
 Tant m'enora⁵, tant me tint chière
 Qu'il m'establi sa chamberière²;
 Servir m'i laisse et laissera
 Tant cum sa volenté sera;
 Nul autre droit ge n'i réclame,
 Ains le merci quant il tant m'ame,⁶
 Que si très-povre damoisele
 A si grant maison et si bele.
 Il, si grant sire, tant me prise,
 Qu'il m'a por chamberière prise.
 Por chamberière ! certes vaire,
Por conestable et por vicaire,
 Dont ge ne fusse mie digne,
 Fors⁷ par sa volenté benigne.

¹ Alanus de Insulâ (*Parlament*, l. 316), says M. Sandras, is the author of a moral tale, in which he feigns that Nature appeared to him in a dream to complain of the wickedness of men.

² 'Chambrière: f. A chamber-maid, or maid-servant, (most commonly) one of the meanest ranke, and of basest employment; or one that serves as a drudge, or kitchen-wench in a house.

'*En Moissons, Dames chambrières sont*: Prov. Ladies are but drudges, or wait on themselves, as long as Harvest lasts.'—*Cotgrave*.

³ Ce Dieu.

⁴ volontés.

⁵ m'honora.

⁶ Mais je le remercie de ce qu'il tant m'aime.

⁷ Si ce n'est.

So Chaucer's epithet *is* in the 'Rose': a jewel in a slop-pail¹, and Chaucer has pickt it out, and set it in pure gold.

J. M. B. of Tunbridge Wells, in *I. Notes and Queries*, vii. 519, col. 2 (28 May 1853), says :

'Traces of Chaucer's proficiency in Italian are discoverable in almost all his poems ; but I shall conclude with two citations from *The Assembly of Foules* :

"The day gan failen, and the darke night
(That reveth beastes from hir businesse)
Berafte me my booke for lacke of light." l. 85.

"*Lo giorno se n' andava, e l'aer bruno
Toglieva gli animai che sono in terra
Dalle fatiche loro.*"—Dante's *Inferno*, ii. 1.

"With that my hand in his he toke anon ;
Of which I comfot caught, and went in fast."
The Assembly of Foules, l. 169.

"*E poiche la sua mano alla mia pose
Con lieto volto, ond' io mi confortai.*"
Inferno, iii. 19.

'By the way, Chaucer commences *The Assembly of Foules* with part of the first aphorism of Hippocrates, "Ο βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρὴ" (but this, I suppose, had been noticed before) :

"The lyfe so short, the craft so long to lerne."

On the question of Chaucer's borrowings or imitations from the Italian in this and other poems of his Second Period, Professor Ten Brink has been kind enough to send me the following list compiled from his *Studien*, of which the translation will be printed as soon as the Professor can find time to revise it, and rewrite the chapter on *The Romaunt of the Rose* :—

Chaucer's Obligations to Italian Poets.

Book of the duchesse, none.

Lyf of seynt Cecile, stanz. 6, 7, 8, Dante, *Paradiso*, XXXIII, 1—6, 7—8, 19—21, and 16—18 (cf. Ten Brink's *Studien*, p. 131, sq.).

¹ I don't of course apply this term to the whole of the 'Rose.'

Assemble of Foules, l. 85, sq. *Inferno* II, 1, sqq.¹; general resemblance between the African and Virgilio; l. 109 sqq. *Inferno* I, 83, sq.²; l. 169, sq. *Inferno* II, 19 sqq.¹ Dante's influence is visible in Chaucer's style, especially where the latter is pathetic, ex. gr. l. 113, sqq. (cf. *Studien*, p. 125, sq.), l. 127, sqq., 134, sqq., *Inferno* III, 1, sqq.³ (cf. *Sandras*, p. 62, sq.). Description of the temple of Venus, l. 183—287, taken from Boccaccio's *Teseide*, VII. st. 50, sqq.⁴ (cf. Tyrwhitt, *Canterbury Tales*, note to l. 1920.)

(*Palamon and Arcite*) *Knights Tale*, imitated from the *Teseide*, l. 1665, sqq. (group A, l. 1663, sqq.), Dante, *Inferno*, VII, 77, sqq. (cf. *Studien*, p. 41, sqq.)

Troylus imitated from Boccaccio's *Filostrato*.—Chaucer's definition of a tragedy taken from Dante, *Opere minori*, ed. Fraticelli, 111, 516, cf. *De vulgari Eloquentia*, II, c. 4. (cf. *Studien*, p. 77, sq.) *Troylus* has 5 books, whereas *Filostrato* has 10 cantos.

Troylus. Filostrato.

I.	I, II, st. 1—33.
II.	II, st. 34—67. III, IV, st. 1—23.
III.	IV, st. 24—85.
IV.	IV, st. 86. V, VI.
V.	VII, VIII, IX, X.

The first part of *Troylus* may be called a comedy, the latter a tragedy. The third book contains the end of the comedy and the beginning of the tragedy. This explains the poems being divided into 5 books, as the *Divina Commedia* has 3 cantiche (cf. *Studien*, p. 79, sq.). Chaucer's proemia written after the rules laid down by Dante in his letter to Can. Grande (*Opere Minori*, III, 520, 522). *Troylus*, II, st. 1, *Purgatorio*, I, 1, sqq. (cf. *Studien*, p. 80); *Troylus* III, proem, st. 1—6, *Filostrato* IV, st. 67—72 (*Studien*, p. 81); *Troylus*, IV, st. 29, *Inferno*, III, 112, sqq. (*Studien*, p. 82); *Troylus*, V, st. 222, *Inferno*, VII, 73, sqq., especially 80, 82 (cf. *Studien*, p. 74); *Troylus*, V, st. 260—266, *Teseide*, XI, st. 1—3 (cf. Tyrwhitt, and *Studien*, p. 58, sqq.).

Hous of Fame: general plot imitated from the *Divina Commedia* (*Studien*, p. 89, sq.); resemblance between the

¹ Quoted above.

² But thus seyde he: 'Thou hast O, of the other poets honour and the so wel borne light!
In lokyng of myn olde booke al Avail me the long study and to-torne . . . 110 great love
That somdel of thy labour wolde That have impelled me to explore I quyte. thy volume!—*Longfellow*, p. 5.

³ Quoted above, p. 35, note.

⁴ Quoted above, p. 36-43.

eagle and Virgilio. House of Fame, I, 499, sqq., and II, 26, sqq. Purgatorio, IX, 19, sqq. (cf. *Sandras*, p. 119, sq.); House of Fame, II, 12—20, Inferno, II, 7, sqq.; House of Fame, II, 80, sqq. Inferno, II, 32; House of Fame, II, 92—96, Inferno, II, 49, sq. (*Studien*, pp. 90, 91). House of Fame, III, 1, sqq., Paradiso, I, 13—27; House of Fame, III, 375, sq., 396, sq., 406, sq., Inferno, IV, 88—90; House of Fame, 370, sqq., Purgatorio, XXI, 88, sqq. (*Sandras*, p. 123, sqq.). House of Fame, III, 830, sqq., 944, sqq., Inferno, III, 52, sqq., 55, sqq. (cf. *Studien*, p. 94).

Anelida and Arcite: st. 1, Teseide I, st. 3; Anelida, st. 2, Teseide I, st. 2; Anelida, st. 3, Tes. I, st. 1; Anelida, st. 6 (Emelye), Teseide II, st. 22; Anelida, st. 8, 9, Teseide II, st. 10, 11; Anelida, st. 10, Teseide II, st. 12 (Creon); cf. *Studien*, p. 49—53.

4. *The Complaynt of Mars*. Twenty-two 7-line stanzas—four being Proem, and eighteen Story,—and then the *Compleynt* of sixteen 9-line stanzas, one being Proem, and the other fifteen, five Terns, or threes-of-stanzas. All the poem is in 5-accent lines. The 9-line stanzas ryme *aab, aab, bcc*, as against the *ab ab bcc* of the ordinary 7-line stanza. The Marquis of Bath's MS at Longleat is the only one I know not printed in our Parallel-Text. In the British-Museum Additional MS 12,254, only the heading of the *Mars* is given, the poem being lost. The first printed edition remaining to us is that by Julian Notary (he printed from 1499 to 1501), of which a unique copy¹ is in the Library at Britwell, belonging to Mr S.

¹ It is an octavo, A and B in eights, and contains, besides the *Mars*,

on B i

“¶ The compleynt of Venus for Mars.

B iii

¶ Here foloweth the counceyll of Chaucer
touchyng Maryag &c. whiche was sente
te te Bucketon &c. (4 stanzas of 8 lines each)

B iiiii [Lydgate]

¶ The fyrst fynders of the vii. scyences artyficyall (7 st. of 7 l.)

B 5

¶ Thauctours of vii scyences (1 st. of 8 lines)

¶ The seuen scyences lyberall (1 st. of 8 lines)

¶ The disposicyon of the vii planetes (1 st. of 8 lines)

Christie-Miller, and he has kindly allowed me to print it. It came to his hands from his predecessor, the founder of the Library, and was formerly in the libraries of Sir M. M. Sykes, Mr Heber, and the Duke of Roxburghe. It is so carelessly printed that I think it must be a reprint of an earlier edition; but it rightly reads "fowles" in the first line—with the Selden MS—and not "louers" with the Fairfax and Tanner MSS, or "floures" or "fooles" (perhaps = fowles) with Shirley's paper MS, R. 3. 20, in Trin. Coll. Cambr., or "floures" with Shirley's vellum MS, Harl. 7333. The contrast is clearly between the birds and flowers, glad and fresh, of lines 1 and 3, and the lovers suffering many a dread, of l. 5.

The poem professes to be all sung by a bird, except two lines and a half, l. 13-15; and its Story is all astronomy and mythology, though the rest of the poem shows us that it must have been occasioned by the loves of some warrior and his mistress; for the "Compleynt" of the *Mars* is that of a human lover, and it is certain that John of Gaunt (Ghent, where he was born)—at whose commandment, Shirley says, Chaucer wrote the poem—must have cared more for amours than astronomy. Luckily, this blessed old copier Shirley, who enjoyed so heartily his contemporaries' poems, copied them so diligently,¹ and tried now and then to imitate them, has left us the names

B 5 back

¶ The disposicyon of the xii sygnes (3 st. of 7 lines)

B 6

¶ The desposicyon of the iiii complexions (3 st. of 8 lines)

B 6 back

¶ The disposicyon of the iiii elementes ("The world soo wyde, the ayre soo remeuable" altered) (4 st. of 7 l. and 1 of 8 l.)

B 7

¶ The disposicyon of the four seasons of the yere (4 st. of 7 lines.)

B 8

¶ The dispo[si]cyon of the world. (5 st. of 8 lines)

A M E N

¶ Thys in pryntyde in westmoster inkyng.
strete. For me Iulianus Notarii

¹ Who will compile us a monograph on Shirley?

of the hero and heroine of the *Mars*, in his tag, or colophon, to his copy of the poem in the Trinity MS at Cambridge :—

¶ þus eondeþe here . þis complaint whiche . some men
sayne / was made . by¹ my lady of yorke doughter to þe
kyng¹ of / Spaygne / and my lord of huntynghdon . some
tyme Duc of Excestre /

Now this is somewhat unpleasant, seeing that the Duchess of York was John of Gaunt's sister-in-law; that he got Chaucer to celebrate her adultery with Lord Huntingdon; and then married his own daughter—Elizabeth, one of his daughters² by his first wife Blanche, whose *Dethe* Chaucer wrote—to the adulterer. But people were not of old so particular in love-matters as we are now, and we must not judge Chaucer by our modern standard for glorifying the adultery of his patron's sister-in-law with even more power than the memory of that patron's peerless wife.³ That the *Compleynt of Mars* was written at John of Gaunt's request, Shirley tells us in his exordium to the poem in his MS in Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 3. 20, page 128 :—

¶ Loo yee louers gladeþe and comferteþe you . of þallyaunce
etryayed bytwene / þe hardy and furyous Mars . þe god
of armes and Venus þe double goddesses of loue made
by .Geffrey Chaucier . at þe comandement of þe renōmed
and excellent prynce my lord þe Duc Ioħn of Lancastre

That the Duchess Isabel and the Earl of Huntingdon also bore to John of Gaunt the relationships I have attributed to them, we know from our old Chroniclers. First as to Isabel: Walsingham says under 1372 :

"Eodem anno, dux Lancastriæ, & comes Cantabrigiæ frater suus, cum duobus sororibus, filiabus domini Perronis,

¹ About. Compare

Herd i neuere bi no leuedi
Bote hendinesse and curteysi.

quoted in Lowell's *My Study Windows*, p. 367.

² The other daughter, Philippa, married the King of Portugal.

³ In the face of the gammon talkt about 'good old times', one must insist on their real characteristics.

quondam regis Hispaniæ, de Wasconia in Angliam redierunt, quas postea in coniuges acceperunt. Dux quidem seniore[m] vocatam Constantiam,¹ & comes iuniorem Isabel-lam appellatam."—Camden's *Anglica*, p. 186, l. 25-8.

As to her character, Walsingham says under 1394 A.D. :

"Eodem anno obiit domina Isabella, ducissa Eborac. soror vterina ducissæ Lancastriæ, mulier mollis & delicata², sed in fine (vt fertur) satis pœnitens & conuersa. Hæc sepulta est, iussu regis, apud Langley suum manerium, inter fratres."—Camden's *Anglica*, p. 350, l. 45-8.

"It is said,³ that this great Lady, having been somewhat wanton in her younger years, at length became an hearty penitent; and, departing³ this life in 1394 (17 R. 2), was buried³ in the Friers Preachers at Langele [King's Langley in Hertfordshire]."—*Dugdale's Baronage*, ii. 154-5.

With regard to her husband, we learn from Dugdale that,

Edmund, the 5th son of King Edward III, was born A.D. 1341 (15 Ed. III), created Earl of Cambridge, 13 Novr. 1362, 36 Ed. III; in 1364 (38 E. III) should have married Margaret, heir to the Earl of Flanders, but was stopt by the Pope, and Charles V of France, whose brother, the Duke of Burgundy, she then married. Having fought in Edward's wars in France in 1369—1372, late in 1372, he returned,⁴ with John, Duke of Lancaster (his Brother): at which time, they brought⁴ with them the two daughters of Don Pedro, King of Castile, viz. Constance and Isabell: which Isabell shortly became his wife. [As Constance did John of Gaunt's.] In 48 Ed. III (1374) he invaded Britany. In 1 R. II, and 2 R. II (June 22 1377 to June 21 1379) he was in the King's Fleet at sea.

In 4 Ric. II (1381) the Earl of Cambridge was in the army that invaded Portugal.

In 9 R. 2 (A.D. 1386), he was, for many great services, 'advanced⁵ to the dignity and title of Duke of York,' his Charter bearing date 6 Aug.

¹ Her daughter Catherine married the King of Spain. After Constance's death, John of Gaunt married his concubine, Catherine Swinford, Sir Payne Roet's daughter, but not Chaucer's sister-in-law.

² This euphemism means more than our 'delicate': *delicatemēt*, wantonly.—*Cotgrave*.

³ T. Wals., 385, n. 40.

⁴ T. Wals., 181, n. 40.

⁵ Pat. 9 R. II, pt 1, m. 10. T. Wals., p. 349. Cart. 9 and 10 R. II, n. 26.

He died 1 Aug. 3 Hen. IV (A.D. 1401), having by his Testament dated 25 Nov. 1400 (*Arundel*, vol. 3?, 194*b*), 'bequeath'd his body to be buried at Langele (in Hertfordshire) near to the grave of Isabell his first wife.'¹

During the Duke's life, his wife Isabell, by his License, declared her Testament,² 6 Dec. 1382 (6 Ric. II), leaving legacies, (to the Duke of Lancaster a Tablet of Jasper which the King of Armonie gave her,) and made Rich. II her residuary legatee,³ on trust to allow Richard, her younger son, 500 marks a year for his life. Ric. II gave this son an annuity of £233 6*s.* 8*d.* for his life, till he should settle on him 500 marks a year in lands or rents.

Edward, Earl of Rutland,⁴ was her eldest son; Constance le Despencer her daughter.—Stated from *Dugdale's Baronage*, II 154-5.

Perhaps the above sketch and dates may lead some reader to suggest a time for the adultery commemorated by Chaucer. If Phebus's disturbance of the lovers of the *Compleynt of Mars* is meant for a husband's interference, then the Earl (afterwards Duke of York) must have been in England at the time. If Phebus is meant for a friend, then the Earl's absence in Brittany in 1374 would suit the possible date of the poem. Or it might be as late as his absence at sea in 1377-8 and 1378-9. One must look into the age of coprolites as well as other fossils.

Secondly. As to the adulterer, the hero of the *Mars*, and his relationship to John of Ghent, we learn from Dugdale and Knyghton that

John Holande⁵ (Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter) was the 3rd son of Thomas, Earl of Kent, by Joane his wife, daughter and heir to Edmund of Wodstoke, Earl of Kent.

In 29 Ed. III (1355) he was in the expedition into Scotland, and of the retinue with Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March.

¹ His second wife was Joane, daughter of Thomas, and sister and coheir to Edmund Holand, Earl of Kent. She survived the Duke of York, and married in succession Lord Willoughby of Eresby, Lord Scrope, and Lord Vesci.

² Rous f. 49. a.

³ Pat. 16 R. II, p. 3, m. 24.

⁴ Created 25 Febr. 13 R. 2 (A.D. 1390).

⁵ Frater uterinus Ricardi Regis ex parte materna.

He stabbed Ralph, heir to the Earl of Stafford, in 7 Ric. II (June 1383-4), and was in disgrace till John of Gaunt got him pardon. He was constable of John of Gaunt's host in Castile in 9 R. II (June 1385-6), when the Duke invaded Castile. Of the Duke's suite then, Knyghton says (*Twysden's Script. Angl.* 2677, col. 1):

"Habuit autem idem pius dux in comitatu suo uxorem suam Constanciam, filiam regis Petri Hispaniarum, & Katerinam filiam ejus, quam genuerat de eadem Constancia. Duas eciam alias filias quas genuerat de domina Blanchia, priore uxore sua, filia & hærede Henrici Ducis Lancastriæ, scilicet, dominam Philippam non conjugatam, & dominam Elizabet, Comitissam de Penbrok, dimisso viro suo juvene in Anglia. Qui Comes, post recessum uxoris suæ, fecit divorcium, & desponsavit sororem Comitissæ de Marchia. Dominus vero *Iohannes de Holande* primo dictam Elizabet desponsavit sibi in uxorem. Domina Philippa maritate est Regi de Portingallia. Katerinam filiam suam maritavit filio regis Hispaniæ, & sic concordati sunt dux Lancastriæ & rex Hispaniæ; et rediit dux Lancastriæ in Angliam mense Novembris anno Domini millesimo CCC. octogesimo nono sequenti [1389] cum immensa summa auri et thesaurorum."

He was made Earl of Huntingdon in June of 11 Ric. II (22 June, 1387, to 21 June, 1388).—(*Dugdale's Baronage*, ii. 78, col. 2.)

In turning over the Patent Roll of 17 Richard II, I came on the following two entries relating to this Earl, 1. his appointment as Chamberlain of England, 2. Letters of Protection during his absence abroad:—

Patent Roll 339, 17 Rich. III, A.D. 1393.

"De officio Camerarie Angliæ concessio.

"*Rex.* Omnibus ad quos &c. salutem. Sciatis, quod de gratia nostra speciali concessimus carissimo fratri nostro Iohanni de Holand, Comiti Huntynghdon, officium Camerarii Angliæ, Habendum pro termino vite sue, cum feodis, vadiis, regardis, & proficiis quibuscumque ad dictum officium qualitercumque pertinentibus, adeo plene & modo quo Comites Oxoniæ in eodem officio ante hec tempora consueverunt. In cuius &c. Teste Rege apud Abbatiam de Bello Loco¹, quarto die Septembris.

per breve de priuato sigillo.

¹ Beaulieu Abbey in the New Forest.

Patent Roll 339, 17 Rich. II, A.D. 1393, 3rd skin.

"Pro Comite Huntyngdoñ. / Rex. Omnibus ad quos &c salutem. Sciatis, quod dedimus licenciam carissimo fratri nostro Iohanni de Holand, Comiti Huntyngdoñ, quod ipse regnum nostrum Anglie versus partes transmarinas transire, & ibidem per duos annos proxime futuros morari possit. Nolentes quod ipse occasione absencie sue extra dictum regnum nostrum durante tempore predicto, per nos, vel heredes nostros, seu Ministros nostros quoscunque, inquietetur, molestetur, in aliquo, seu grauetur. In cuius &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xvij die Januarii per breve de priuato sigillo "

This is probably enough relating to the personages of the *Compleynt of Mars*. More dates as to Lord Huntingdon's absences from England may be found in Dugdale, &c. We now turn to the Story, and the mixt mythology and astronomy, of the Poem.

Like the *Parlament of Foules*, which it naturally follows, the *Compleynt of Mars* is a Valentine's-Day poem, and it is sung by a bird. In the gray morning ere sunrise, the Proem calls on birds and flowers to rejoice, but on lovers to flee, for the Sun, the candle of Jealousy, is near. With 'blue' tears—tears having the livid or ashy¹ colour seen at their edges—lovers are to part, but yet take comfort that their sorrows shall soon cease in their meeting again; besides, the past glad night is worth a sad morning. But it's Valentine's Day; so, lovers, awake! Ye who have not chosen your mates, choose them at once; and ye who have chosen, confirm your choice! I in my bird's way, to honour this high feast, will sing you the Complaint that Mars made at parting from Venus in the morning, when the Sun frights lovers.

Then comes "The Story," partly mythological, partly astronomical.² The amours of Mars and Venus, says Lem-

¹ blô, bloo *lividus*, Prompt. Parv.; bloo askses, Vis. of Piers Plowman, l. 1554, ed. Wright [B. text, iii. 97, ed. Skeat]; as blô as léd, Miracle-Plays, ed. Marriott, 148.—*Stratmann*.

² E. says in I *Notes and Queries*, iii. 132, col. 2, when commenting on *The Knightes Tale*: "The mixture of astrological

priere, "are greatly celebrated. The god of war gained the affections of Venus, and obtained the gratification of his desires; but Apollo, conscious of their familiarities, informed Vulcan of his wife's infidelity, and awakened his suspicions. Vulcan secretly laid a net around the bed, and the two lovers were exposed in each other's arms, to the ridicule and satire of all the gods, till Neptune prevailed on the husband to set them at liberty. This unfortunate discovery so provoked Mars, that he changed into a cock his favourite youth Alectryo, whom he had stationed at the door to watch against the approach of the Sun, but who had gone to sleep at his post. Still mindful of his neglect, the cock announces early the approach of the Sun (*Lucian in Alect.*)" Venus had 3 children by Mars, namely Anteros, Cupid, and Hermione. By Mercury she had Hermaphroditus; by Bacchus, Priapus; and by Neptune, Eryx. (*Lempriere.*)

Chaucer's 'thrid heuenes lord' of line 24 is, says Mr Skeat, 'the third lord of heaven,' Mars, and not 'the lord of the third heaven,' because Mars is the lord of the fifth heaven. Taking the Earth as the centre, we have 1. the orbit of the Moon, 2. the orbit of Mercury, 3. the orbit of Venus, 4. the orbit of the Sun, 5. the orbit of Mars, 6. the orbit of Jupiter, 7. the orbit of Saturn. But as Luna and Venus are not lords, Mars, the lord of the fifth heaven, is rightly called 'the third lord of heaven.' He, as planet and lover, has won Venus his love; she has him in subjection, forbids him jealousy and cruelty, and rules him merely with her eye. Each is in bliss; he binds himself to obey her for ever, and she herself to love him for ever, unless he trespasses against her. As certain fixed distances, like trine (120 degrees, or a third of a circle) were con-

notions with mythology is curious: 'the pale Saturnus the colde' is once more a dweller on Olympus, and interposes to reconcile Mars and Venus. By his influence Arcite is made to perish, after having obtained from Mars the fulfilment of his prayer—"Yeve me the victorie, I axe thee no more."

sidered fortunate, so these planets Mars and Venus have a favourable *aspect* as regards each other, says Mr Skeat; they 'reign by looking,' l. 50-1. They agree to come into actual conjunction; they set a time for Mars to enter into Venus's next palace (l. 54) or mansion, wherein is her chamber painted with white Bulls, (l. 86) that is, into Taurus, which is a mansion of Venus. As Mr Brae says on p. 86 of his edition of Chaucer's *Astrolabe* from Walter Stevens's MS, written and prepared for press about 1555 A.D. :—

"Again, in Chaucer's Poem, 'the Complaynt of Mars and Venus' he allegorically describes a conjunction of the Sun with Venus and Mars, in Taurus. Venus had made an assignation with Mars in her 'nexte paleys,' i.e. the sign Taurus, as mentioned above. Her chamber 'depeynted was with white boles grete'—emblematic of Taurus—in which, as in the old fable, the Sun surprises her with Mars, by entering into Taurus—*thys twelve¹ dayes of Aprille*—a date that of itself is sufficient to prove that it is the sign Taurus which is alluded to. The adjoining sign to Taurus is Gemini, and Gemini is a mansion of Mercury, just as Taurus is of Venus. It is needless to say that Mercury is *Cyllenius*,² and when Phœbus so rudely bursts into Venus' chamber she escapes into Mercury's :—

¹ 'twelfth' is the right reading.

² "The sign *Gemini* is also 'Domus Mercurii,' so that when Venus fled into the tour of Cyllenius, she simply slipped into the next door to her own house of Taurus, leaving poor Mars behind to halt after her as he best might." A. E. Brae, in *I Notes and Queries*, iii. 235; 29 March, 1851. "When Venus first enters Mercury's 'palais', she 'ne found ne sey no maner wight'. This signifies the absence from home of Cyllenius, who was abroad upon his chivache [ride, course,] in attendance upon the sun; and here again is an instance of the nice astronomical accuracy of Chaucer. It was impossible that the planet Mercury could be in the sign Gemini, because his greatest elongation, or apparent distance from the sun, does not exceed 29 degrees; so that the sun having but just entered Taurus, Mercury could not be in Gemini." *ib.* p. 258. I cannot take to Mr Brae's explanation and alteration of l. 145, making 'Valaunses, valance, valauns, balaunce, balance' (*twice*,) Valens, that is, Mercury, and altering 'Fro Venus Valaunse [*or* balaunce] myght his paleis see' (*or* be), to 'Venus might Valens in this palais see', though I, with him and every other reader of the poem, must see that Chaucer mixt the mythological and astronomical characters of the God and Goddess together. See above, p. 53, 57, and Sandras's 'L'astronomie, suivant la coutume du moyen-âge, s'y mêle à la mythologie.'—*Etude*, p. 109.

Now fleeth Venus into Cyllenius tour
With voide cours, for fere of Phebus lyght."

But before the lovers meet, Mars makes Venus a most pretty speech, in stanza 9, as to his longing for her. She, in mercy for his solitude, and having so much less an orbit than he to travel, speeds almost as fast in one day as he does in two (l. 69-70); the lovers meet, and 'unto bed they go.' There in joy and bliss, the poet leaves them, till the flaming Sun comes to burn them with his heat in Venus's mansion Taurus. She weeps and says, 'Alas! I die!' (l. 90) Mars's eyes flash fire, and rain hot tears; he arms, but may not keep her company, he is too slow (l. 92-104). He bids her flee; and she does, to Cyllenius's,¹ or Mercury's tower—that is, mansion Gemini—and falls into a cave (l. 119).² This cave Mr Skeat thinks may mean that Venus becomes dim, owing to the near approach of the sun. In her cave, Venus moans, till Mercury coming in his course into Venus's balance³—her man-

¹ Hermes (Mercury) was a son of Zeus and Maia, the daughter of Atlas, and was born in a cave of Mount Cyllene in Arcadia (Homer's *Od.* viii. 335, xiv. 435, xxiv. 1; *Hymn. in Merc.* i. &c.; Ovid's *Met.* i. 682, xiv. 291); whence (*Virgil's Aen.* viii. 139, &c.,) he is called Atlantiades or Cyllenius; but Philostratus (*Icon.* i. 26) places his birth in Olympus. Hermes had a temple on Mount Cyllene.—*Smith's Dict.* All the MSS read 'Cyllenius' with varied spellings. 'Cyclinius' is found in some, if not all, printed texts. Mr Brae corrected it to *Cyllenius* (= Mercury) in 1851 on astronomical grounds.

² Mr Skeat says; compare Gawain Douglas.

The Proloug of the xii buk of Eneados.

Dyonea, nyght-hyrd, and wach of day,
The starnys chasyt of the hevyn away,
Dame Cynthia down rolling in the see,
And venus lost the bewte of hir E,
Fleand eschamynt within Cylenyus cave.

5

³ Aries is the mansion of Mars, and the exaltation of Venus.

Taurus	"	Venus,	"	the Moon.
Gemini	"	Mercury,	"	the Dragon's Head.
Cancer	"	the Moon,	"	Jupiter.
Leo	"	the Sun,	"	(none).
Virgo	"	Mercury,	"	Mercury.
Libra	"	Venus,	"	Saturn.
Scorpio	"	Mars,	"	(none).
Sagittarius	"	Jupiter,	"	the Dragon's tail.
Capricorn	"	Saturn,	"	Mars.
Aquarius	"	Saturn,	"	(none).
Pisces	"	Jupiter,	"	Venus.

sion, Libra,—sees her with a friendly aspect, in his palace or mansion, Gemini, and receives her as his friend (st. 21). We must now go back to Mars. In stanza 16, Chaucer, or his bird, sympathizes with the deserted lover¹, who, furious, would have slain himself because he could not accompany his mistress (l. 123-6). Yet he still follows her, though so slowly that he passes only one star in two days. Then he mourns his lady Venus, saying that on 'the twelfth day of April' the Sun wrought him his sad fate (l. 139-140). This right reading of 'the twelfth day' has been obscured by the scribes of the Fairfax and Tanner MSS—both probably copied from the same original—forgetting that .xij. can stand for 'twelfth' as well as 'twelve,' and so reading it 'twelve,' and altering 'day' into 'dayes.' Mr Brae and Skeat say that according to the Astrolabe of Chaucer's time, the 12th of April is the day on which the Sun enters Taurus, and therefore the day on which Mars was surprised with Venus in her chamber Taurus by the Sun's coming (see lines 82, 91). Well, poor lonely Mars complains ever his love's departure; and on this lusty

The Dragon's Head and Tail are two stars in the Constellation Draco.

The above list is compiled from Raphael's Manual of Astrology, London, 1828. It appears to agree with the usages of the early astrologers.—W. W. SKEAT. Mr Brae altogether dissents from Mr Skeat's explanation, and holds to his own.

¹ The ancient only cares to *see*, but the modern helps out his eyesight with anatomy. The ancient will with the most lively and human verisimilitude recount for us outward sayings and doings which he has seen, dreamt, or heard tell of; but he will not go far in probing the springs of the things said or done. Take Homer; he has a few simple surface formulas—"then the mind of the hero swayed this way and that," or "now waxed his dear heart wroth within him"—to cover every variety of mental and emotional process. *Take Chaucer; what he does is to act in some sort the part of chorus, or of the attendant figures in a devotional picture; giving by his attitude a keynote to our sympathies, making ejaculations, constantly of a turn most exquisite and touching, of pity or dismay over the events of his story; but without consciously cutting down upon the fibres of character, and laying bare the very feeling itself as well as its manifestation. And it is this that Mr. Morris in the work before us has done, with a skill of analysis scarcely less fluent and simple than is his skill of description.—Pall Mall Gazette on Wm Morris (date lost).*

Valentine's-morning I'll sing you his 'Compleynt,' and then take my leave. (Before going on to this, wherein the allegory is dropt, let us stop a minute to admire the happiness and grace of Chaucer's working-out of his allegory, the intense humanness of it, and the pathos of the scenes after the lovers' joy is broken-in on.) We turn to the *Compleynt*, and with it the easy flow of the story-telling ceases; we enter the strait banks of the Tern. Five of them we have, with change of metre; in each, change of subject, restlessness; though the strong current of woe speeds onward to its end. The Proem of the *Compleynt* is very poor. It was right to have one, as Mars is now to speak to the reader in his own person. No change of this kind was made in the *Pity*, and therefore Chaucer gave us no Proem to his Complaint there. Mars, then, says he will show cause for his troubles or ('other') men might think him a fool. He seeks not redress, that is hopeless; but only to declare his heaviness. Then come the five Terns expressing 1. his Love's beauty and his resolve to be faithful to her to the death. 2. his despair, with a digression in st. 2 on the woes of true lovers: his Love is in distress; to whom can he complain? 3. his reproaches of Jupiter, for putting all the world under the rule of Love who is so fickle. The lover, like a fish, seizes the longed-for hook, gets his desire, and his death. 4. Yet Mars's troubles are not due to his Lady, but to her maker, and her lover's own desire (st. 35): as was the case with the Brooch of Thebes (st. 33, 34).¹ 5. Mars appeals to all brave knights and true ladies, with all lovers, to complain with him for his Love. Still praising her, he ends his lay.

Can we reckon the "Compleynt" of the *Mars* among Chaucer's best pieces? I think not. The first and last Terns are better than the others; in them especially there

¹ The description of this brooch in the *Thebais* of Statius, ii. 265, is quoted in Robert Bell's edition, vol. vi, p. 37, note. He says it will remind the reader of the witches' caldron in *Macbeth*.

is, I dare say, a looking-back to his own old hopeless love of *The Complaynte of Pite*, though he had no "glad nyght" to console his "hevy morowe". Stanza 25 (Tern I. 2) with its 'beauté, lust, fredam, and gentilnesse' recalls somewhat the 'fresshe beauté, lust, and jolyte' of st. 6 of the *Pity*; but there is no copying; the variations of the *Mars* on the theme of the *Pite* are thoroughly fresh and original. The great interest of the poem is its evidence of Chaucer's knowledge of Astronomy. The lovelorn man has watcht the stars, and woven them into the tale of a love like his own. True that he liked to chaff his knowledge of the stars in his later *Hous of Fame*:

- With that this Egle gan to crye :
E. "Lat be," quod he, "thy fantasye. 484
 Wilt thou lerne of sterres aught?"
Ch. "Nay, certenly," quod I, "ryght naught."
E. "And Why"?"
Ch. "For I am now to olde".
E. "Elles I wolde the have tolde," 488
 Quod he, "the sterres namès, lo,
 And al the hevenes sygnes ther-to,
 And which they ben."
Ch. "No fors," quod I, &c., &c.
Works, ed Morris, v. 239.

But then it pleased the dear old fellow to say occasionally that he couldn't write poetry: and if he thought so, we don't share his opinion.

M. Sandras, who accepts the amalgamation of the *Mars* and the *Venus* into one poem, is yet good enough to say that Chaucer's declaration that he followed Gransson, is only to be understood to apply to the two Complaints, as the exposition which precedes them is too learned to have come from the French poet (*Etude*, p. 109). We can now assure the French critic that the *Mars* Complaint is not from Gransson; though, as many French poets must have mentioned Mars and Venus together, and complained about love M. Sandras's reasoning on the hunt in the

Dethe of Blaunche,¹ would bring the *Mars* too into his wide drag-net of French imitations. Scratch a Russian, and you find a Tartar, said Voltaire (?): Scratch Chaucer, and you find a Frenchman, says M. Sandras. Well, well, it pleases him, and doesn't hurt us or our bright old English soul.

Here for the present I must break off, as I haven't time to study further the rest of the poems just now, and have been for six weeks, and am still, away from almost all my books and literary friends, among bluebells, honeysuckles, laburnums, cuckoos, and nightingales; Chaucer's daisies under my feet, his heavenly harmony of birds about me, and his bright old England all around. Wasn't he at Windsor Castle that we see so well from Cooper's Hill? Didn't he see and love 'the river winding at its own sweet will', and rejoice in all the sights and sounds of spring and early summer²—chill and late though they were,

¹ See above, p. 50.

² Prof. Lowell says in his *Conversations on some of the Old Poets*, p. 25:

"But we must come back to Chaucer. There is in him the exuberant freshness and greenness of spring. Everything he touches, leaps into full blossom. His gladness and humour and pathos are irrepressible as a fountain. Dam them with a prosaic subject, and they overleap it in a sparkling cascade that turns even a hindrance to a beauty. Choke them with a tedious theological disquisition, and they bubble up forthwith, all around it, with a delighted gurgle. There is no cabalistic Undine-stone or seal of Solomon that can shut them up for ever. Reading him is like brushing through the dewy grass at sunrise. Everything is new and sparkling and fragrant. He is of kin to Belphebe, whose

'Birth was of the womb of morning dew,
And her conception of the joyous prime.'

I speak now of what was truly Chaucer. . . His first merit, the chief one in all art, is sincerity. He does not strive to body forth something which shall have a meaning; but, having a clear meaning in his heart, he gives it as clear a shape. Sir Philip Sidney was of his mind when he bade poets look into their own hearts and write. He is the most unconventional of poets, and the frankest. If his story be dull, he rids his hearers of all uncomfortable qualms by being himself the first to yawn. He would have fared but ill in our day, when the naked feelings are made liable to the penalties of an act for indecent exposure. Very little care had he for the mere decencies of life. . . . Chaucer's . . . innocent self-forgetfulness gives us the truest glimpses into his own nature, and, at the

like ours this year! Truly he did; and loved the sweet English girls around him—not only girls, but women all. His early hopeless love didn't harden, but opened his heart. And one ought to work for the sake of him. But he'd have given us all a holiday, I'm sure: so, reader, let me put off Part II of these *Trial-Forewords* for a time; and join with me in thanking Professor Ten Brink, who first gave Englishmen a real outline of their great poet's works; Mr Henry Bradshaw, from whom I have learnt all in this Tract that is true or valuable on the structure of Chaucer's poems¹; Mr Brae and Mr Skeat, whose explanations of the astronomy of the *Mars* I have copied; Mr W. Aldis Wright, who has kindly superintended the copying of all the Trinity (Cambridge) MSS, and read two of the revises of them with the MSS; and Mr George Parker of the Bodleian, for his accurate copies of the Oxford MSS, and his reading the proofs or revises of some of them—(I've read either proof or revise of all but the Tanner *Mars* myself², and both proof and revise of most of the poems.)

Walnut-Tree Cottage, Egham,
13 June, 1871:

same time, makes his pictures of outward objects wonderfully clear and vivid. Though many of his poems are written in the first person, yet there is not a shade of egotism in them. It is but the simple art of the story-teller to give more reality to what he tells."

¹ My obligations to Mr Bradshaw are too numerous to specify; but I should have tried to state more of them had not I already unwittingly attributed to him in print (in the *Athenæum*) the absurdity that he considered the spurious *Testament of Love* a translation from the French; and I don't want to hook-on to him any more like slips of my bad memory. If I have said here anything that he hereafter says, I desire that he be considered the original author of it.

² The Radcliffe, where the MS was, was shut on my Whit Tuesday visit there.

HINDWORDS TO PART I.

I HAVE left out of the foregoing pages some points which I wisht to notice.

1. *Chaucer's Portrait.* This is photographed by Mr Stephen Thompson of 15 Edith Villas, North End, Kensington, from Occleve's 'lyknesse' in body-colour of his master, on leaf 91 of the MS of his own *De Regimine Principum*, now the Harleian MS 4866 in the British Museum. None of the engravings or woodcuts of this 'lyknesse' do it justice; the present photograph does, so far as the sun can render colour.

The face is wise and tender, full of a sweet and kindly sadness at first sight, but with much bonhommie in it on a further look, and with deepset, farlooking, grey eyes. Not the face of a very old man, a totterer, but of one with work in him yet, looking kindly, though seriously, out on the world before him. Unluckily, the parted grey moustache, and the vermilion above and below the lips, render it difficult to catch the expression of the mouth; but the lips seem parted, as if to speak. Two tufts of white beard are on the chin; and a fringe of white hair shows from under the black hood. One feels one would like to go to such a man when one was in trouble, and hear his wise and gentle speech.

The green background (framed with a brown border) has turned dark in the photograph. The dress is black; the knife- or pen-case hangs by a red string, and the black

beads in the left hand are also threaded on a red string.¹
 Occleve's lines by the side of the portrait follow these :

- ¶ The firste fyndere of our faire langage
 Hath seyde in caas semblable, & othir moo,
 So hyly wel, þat it is my dotage
 ffor to expresse or touche any of thoo.
 Alasse ! my fadir fro þe worlde is goo !
 My worthi maister Chaucer ! hym I mene :
 Be þou aduoket for hym, beuenes quene !
- ¶ As þou wel knowest, o blissid virgyne,
 With louyng^h hert and hye deuocion,
 In þyne honour he wroot ful many a lyne.
 O now, þine helpe & þi promocioun
 To god, þi sone, make amocioun
 How he þi seruaunt was, mayden marie ; [leaf 91 or 88]
 And lat his loue floure and fructifie !

Other lines by Occleve in praise of Chaucer are quoted by Sir H. Nicolas in his *Life of Chaucer*, p. 76-9, ed. Morris, from Mr T. Wright's edition of the *De Regimine Principum*, Roxb. Club, 1860.

2. *The Formality of the Structure of Chaucer's short Poems.* This was a characteristic quite unexpected by me, till Mr Bradshaw pointed it out. Of Chaucer's later poems, *The Former Age* consists of 3 Terns, II.3 being lost, and the last line of III.2 too ; *Truth* is a Balade (that is, a Tern with an Envoy) ; the *Moder of God* is 7 Terns, IV.2 being lost ; *Lenvoy to Skogan* is 2 Terns and an Envoy ; *Marriage* is a Balade ; *Gentilnesse* a Tern (a Balade that has no doubt lost its Envoy) ; the *Lack of Stedfastness* is a Balade ; the *Fortune* is 3 Terns with an Envoy ; the *Purse* is a Balade. Lastly, the *Anelida and Arcite* consists of a Proem of 3 stanzas, a Story of 27 stanzas, (all 7-line.) and a Complaynt in 9-line stanzas, having a Proem of one stanza, and a Conclusion of one, while between are two *Movements*, as Mr Bradshaw calls them, each having six stanzas : first

¹ Any one who would like to get for a guinea a copy of this portrait of Occleve's, carefully coloured after the original, should apply to Mr Frank Nowlan, artist, 17 Soho Square, W., or to Mr W. H. Hooper, 8 Thanet Place, Strand, London, W.C.

four of 9 lines each, then a 16-line one, ryming *aaaab, aaab; bbba, bbba*; of which the first *aaa, aaa*, are 4-accent lines, the first *b, b*, 5-accent ones, while the second *bbb, bbb* are 4-accent lines, and the second *a, a*, 5-accent ones (Two very interesting bits of work). (The continuing stanza 'Whan that Annelyda this woful quene,' &c., is not in Harl. MS 372, Shirley's Harl. 7333, and Addit. 16,165; though it is in Ff i. 6. Camb. Univ. Libr., and Thynne's printed text.) The A B C's alphabeticalness doubtless had some attraction for Chaucer, independent of its subject.

3. *The Supplementary Parallel-Texts of Chaucer's Poems* are to contain such texts as I can get, above the six that the *Parallel-Text Edition*, when open, will show. An Editor wants all his texts under his eye at once. When, as in the *Parlament of Foules*, there are 9 texts and 2 fragments (besides Dr Morris's print of the Fairfax MS), the best way to get any passage in them all under an Editor's eye on his table, is to put 6 texts in the *Parallel-Text*, 3 in the *Supplementary*, and the 2 fragments in the *Odd-Texts*.

The Editor can then take in his left hand the *One-Text Print* of the poems—which is meant for him to enter his collations in, or otherwise prepare for press as he pleases—and run it along our eleven texts, and Dr Morris's one, all together on his table under his eye. (No Member need groan at texts being multiplied, and he sacrificed, to suit future Editors, because every Member who uses the Society's books must have already often found the separate prints of the MSS of our Six-Text Canterbury Tales very handy to him.)

4. The Continuation of the *Compleynte to Pite* in Shirley's hand on four leaves inserted into the Harleian MS 78,¹ first printed by Stowe in 1569, leaf 339 (for 345). Shirley writes the lines as part of Chaucer's poem, which

¹ The *Pity* follows the *Doctrina et Consilium Galienis* just printed in my *Jyl of Breyntford*, &c.

their subject suits. The restlessness of the metre, the incomplete stanzas, also suit the unhappy lover's 'unrest of woe.' But it is too poor for our poet, too formless; and we must conclude that Shirley either mistook its authorship, or wrote it himself in the hope that posterity would mistake it for his master's: but this trick I do not believe in his playing. The lines are therefore put as one of the 'Poems attributed to Chaucer' in the Appendix to our '*Odd Texts of Chaucer's Minor Poems.*' This "Balade of Pytee" contains two stanzas of the ordinary 7-line sort, ryming *ab, abb, cc*; then come 3 stanzas in the MS, which are, in fact, a set of triplets in Dante's form (*terza rima*), each catching a ryme from the triplet before it, though five lines seem to be wanting¹; to the last triplet is added an extra ryme, as at the end of a canto of Dante. Lastly come 8 stanzas of

¹ Mr Skeat has kindly drawn-out this scheme of the triplets:

2 fulfille	place	}	134	[2 echo to l. 133]	
	grace		136		
	arace	}	139		
	remedye				
	[. . . . ye]	}	1		
			[. . . . ye]		
			[. . . . ye]		
			[. ede]		
	wommanhede	}	148		
	drede	}	151		
	aventure	}	154		
	dure	}	157		
	creature	}	160		
	parte	}	163	pair : & pull up.	
	dart	}	163		
	art	}	163		

ten lines each, ryming *aab, aab, edde*; and the poem breaks off, the rest of the MS being gone. Many of the lines, as 161-4, echo Chaucer's in his *Pity*, as 100-6.

5. *þe Cronycle made by Chaucier*, being the second of the Poems attributed to him in our Appendix to the *Odd Texts*. This consists of nine 7-line stanzas on the nine Ladies in Chaucer's *Legende of Goode Women*, save that Alceste is turned into Alchyone, whose story Chaucer told in his *Dethe of Blaunche* (p. 43 above); but the *Cronycle*-writer tells the tale differently to Chaucer. The *Cronycle* makes no mention of the other ten Goode Women whom Chaucer meant to celebrate :—

“Behynde this God of Love upon the grene
I saugh comyng of ladyes *nientene*
In real habite, a ful esy paas.” (*Legende*, l. 282-4.)

The *Cronycle* is perhaps by Lydgate, Shirley, or some like versifier, and cannot possibly be Chaucer's.

6. *The Former Age*, p. 12. Chaucer's bad opinion of his own time should be noticed in this poem :—

“Alas ! Alas ! now may men wepe and crye,
For in owre days is not but covetyse,
Doublenesse, treson, and envye,
Poysonne, manslawtyr, mordre in sondri wyse.” 64

The passage is much altered from the Latin, which he translates, “I wolde that our tymes sholde turne azeine to þe oolde maneres. ¶ But þe anguissous loue of hauyng brennep in folke moore cruely þan þe fjr of þe Mountaigne of Ethna, pat euer brennep.”—*Boethius*, p. 51, ed. Morris.

Chaucer's *Balade on The Lack of Stedfastness* (ed. Morris, vi. 292) also gives a very dark picture of his times.

7. *The Canterbury Tales*, p. 9, 16. Why I insist on 1386, or some such year, as the central period of the *Tales*, is the strong conviction I have that the thorough larkiness of many of them cannot be an old man's work, and that it is absurd to suppose these contemporary with the Envoy to Scogan or Bukton, &c. Just see how they bubble over

with fun. Read the description of the Carpenter's Wife in the Miller's Tale, followed by that

"Now sir, and eft sir, so bifel the cas,"

showing that Chaucer enjoyed the story like any young spark; see how the Reeves Tale is workt up,—with its six lines of summary too—the Wife of Bath's Prologue, the Shipman's Tale, and the Summoner's; and then ask yourself 'was this work done in the decline of life, or when young blood was still in the veins?' If any reader hasn't backbone enough to judge for himself, then let him take the verdict, not of a foreigner, however learned—he *cannot* appreciate the value of the evidence,—but of an English or English-speaking man with poetic insight like Prof. Lowell, Mr William Morris, or the like, if any such there be. Should the verdict be against me, I should desire my judgment to be set aside by all in whom it does not call up an echo that it's right.

Against the notion of the Tales being written successively (or nearly so) to fit into the framework of the Prologue and Links, in the way that a boat-builder would lay down his keel, fix his ribs, and then nail up his streaks or planks to them,¹ I urge that we've three Tales—Doctor's, Wife's, Second Nun's—without Head-Links, but no End-Links without Tales, except in the somewhat doubtful case of the Nun's Priest's End-Link, "Sire Nonnes Preest, our hoste sayde anon," which seems to be repeated from some

¹ In light boats the ribs go in last, solid shapes guiding the lines of the boat. Old times come back to me. Mr Beesley of St John's will recollect our spending the leisure of a Long Vacation at Cambridge—was it 1845 or 1844?—in building a pair of outriggers apiece, first separately, and then together in the yard opposite Magdalen. It wasn't all waste time, though, for we lent our boats (the first really narrow ones ever built) to Newell and Combes who were coaching eights, and practising for Newell's match with Clasper or some other Tyneside man. Newell askt for my boat to row his match in, as he said she was the lightest and fastest he'd ever been in, 'goes off my hands like nothing, Sir'; but the London trade wouldn't hear of it, built him a new narrow boat, of our size, so that he could just sit in her; he won his match, and thenceforth narrow boats were establisht on the London and Cambridge waters.

lines in his Prologue, or, if written before that, then given-up—for it's in very few MSS—and workt into the Prologue.

8. Why I make a Fourth Period, of Decline (p. 17), in Chaucer's Works, is both because of the manifest worseness of most of his late poems, and because the impression made on me by his Envoy to *The Compleynt of Venus*, is that of a man taking up his poetizing again after a considerable rest, and finding it awfully hard; as he says,

... "hit is a grete penaunce—
Syth ryme in Englissh hath such skarsete—
To folowe worde by worde the curiosite
Of Graunson, floure of them that make¹ in Fraunce."

Accustomed as Chaucer is, to run-down his own powers², this Envoy seems to me to bear fairly the meaning I put on it, and to be dead against the view that the poem—which is certainly late in Chaucer's life, though not at the end of it—was written with a power that went on growing up to his death. There comes a time when the cunning of the deftest hand begins to fail.

9. On the last page of vol. ii of Mr W. C. Hazlitt's new edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry* I have given other places to Chaucer's *A B C* and *Pity* than those assigned to them in these *Forewords*, p. 12—15, &c. The latter ones are the result of second thoughts, and right, I hope. (I am the 'friend' alluded-to on p. ix of this *Warton*, vol. i, but, not having time to do the MS work there recommended, I was obliged to content myself with drawing up

¹ write poetry.

² "But for to tellen yow al hir beaute, [Canace's]

It lith not on my tonge ne my connyng,

I dar nought undertake so heigh a thing;

Myn English eek is insufficient;

It moste be a rethor excellent

That couth his colours longyng for that art,

If he schold hir discryve in eny part :

I am non such; I mot speke as I can."

Canterbury Tales, Group F, § 2, l. 33-41 (*Squire's Tale*).

See too F, § 4, l. 8-20, the Proem to the *Frankeloynes Tale*.

the list of poems after 1300 in vol. ii, and getting Mr H. Sweet, Dr Richard Morris, Mr W. Aldis Wright, Mr Skeat, Mr D. Donaldson, Mr Hales, Mr J. Shelly, and Mr E. Brock, to correct and supplement the early part of the book. I am also responsible for the chief transpositions of Warton's text in vol. ii, to get the work more nearly chronological. Though Mr H. Sweet's name is not on the title-page of the new *Warton*, his sketch of Anglo-Saxon poetry in it is decidedly as valuable as—not to say, worth much more than—the work of any of the rest of us whose names are there. Acknowledgment of Mr John Shelly's interesting account of the Early English Charlemagne romances was unluckily forgotten in the Preface.)

10. *De Deguileville's original of Chaucer's A B C*. This Prayer to the Virgin that Grace-Dieu gave the Pilgrim, is printed opposite Chaucer's free englishing of it in our *One-Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, No. V. M. Paul Meyer, of the *Archives*, &c., the learned editor of *Flamenca*, &c. &c., has most kindly copied for us the French text of De Deguileville's *A B C* from the MS that he considers the best in the National Library, Paris, and has also collated this with three other MSS. His letter on the subject, which all our members will read with pleasure and gratitude, is as follows :—

“ *Passy—Paris, 13 August, 1871.*

“ I enclose you the copy of De Deguileville's (that's the proper form of the name) Prayer. I suppose you will prefix an introduction to Chaucer's *A B C*, and, at the same time, say something about De Deguileville. But as I did not know what your plan was—and, besides that, as the weather is fearfully warm in Paris, I considered the best way would be for me to send you the text with a few introductory remarks which you could use at your own will.

“ First, I must confess that I am not aware of the existence of any study on De Deguileville's poems, since 1745, when the learned Abbé Goujet wrote about that poet, a short, but for the time, very satisfactory, notice in the *Bibliothèque Française*, vol. ix., p. 71—92.

“ From the abbot's researches, it appears that De Deguileville was born about 1295, and that his first poem,

the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, was composed about A.D. 1330. I do not even know who found out that De Deguilleville's Prayer was the original of Chaucer's *A B C*¹. Certainly not Sandras : see his book, p. 106.

"The *Pèlerinages* were very successful ; perhaps more so in the 15th than in the 14th century ; MSS of the 14th being rather scarce. But however great may be, as we say, the 'abondance de richesses,' it might be called 'surabondance,' as you will see ; and on the whole, the future editor of De Deguilleville will find the work harder than one might suppose it. MSS differ much more than we could anticipate in poems of the 14th century. It is so, perhaps, because De Deguilleville's language, being rather 'recherché,' was the more subjected to alteration by the scribes ; but it is so chiefly for a peculiar fact, which is this : the poems are in octosyllabic verses ; but De Deguilleville's octosyllabic verses differ from the general rule in one very important point, viz. that the feminine verses are just equal in the number of syllables to the masculine verses ;—that is to say (if you depend upon the pronunciation, not upon the spelling), are one syllable shorter than the masculine, these latter having the accent on the 8th syll., and the feminine on the 7th syll. (you know that in any octosyllabic poem you may come across the accent is always on the 8th syllable, feminine verses having one syllable more after the accent).

"This system of versification was certainly not invented for the first time by De Deguilleville, as the same is to be found throughout the *Breviari d'amor* of Matfre Ermen-gaud de Beziers, a provençal poem written at the end of the 13th cent., and in many songs of the troubadours ; but I don't recollect any French instance of it.

"However this may be, it seems that the copyists were greatly shocked by such a novelty ; and several of our oldest MSS of the *Pèlerinages* have attempted with more or less accuracy and continuity to alter the feminine verses into the ordinary octosyllabic by corrections of different kinds, the most frequent consisting merely in the addition of some senseless monosyllabic word. You can form an idea of this curious kind of alteration, from which none of the MSS that I have seen is entirely free, by looking at the foot-readings of MS *A* for stanzas 1, 2 :—after these stanzas the text, so far as the versification is concerned, is tolerably correct.— But to make the thing clearer, I will

¹ Mr Bradshaw, I believe, when examining the MS of the *Pilgrim* in the Camb. Univ. Libr. (from De Deguilleville's French) that Mr W. Aldis Wright afterwards edited for the Roxburghe Club. —F. J. F.

write here the feminine verses of stanzas 1 and 4 as they stand in MSS *Fonds français*, 823, 1139, 1647 :

823 (written A.D. 1393).	1647 (written A.D. 1403).	1139 (15th cent.)
3 Tout confus je ne puis mieux faire	<i>sic</i>	Tout confus ne puis mieulx fere ¹
6 Vaincu m'a mon <i>fel</i> adversaire	mon <i>mal</i>	Car vaincu m'a mon adversaire
7 Puis que en toy ont tous repaire	<i>sic</i>	<i>sic</i>
8 Je me doy bien vers toy retraire	<i>sic</i>	Bien me doy <i>dont</i> ...
10 N'est mie luite neccessaire	<i>sic</i>	N'est pas <i>tel</i> livre (!)
12 A moy se tu <i>très</i> debonnaire	Se tu m'es	A moy se tu <i>com</i> ...
37 Dame es de misericorde ²	<i>sic</i>	<i>sic</i>
38 Par qui <i>li vrais</i> Diex bien recorde	<i>sic</i>	Par qui Dieu <i>tres</i> bien se ...
40 Par toy vint <i>la</i> paix et concorde	<i>sic</i>	Par toy vint <i>et</i> paix ...
41 Et fu pour oster <i>la</i> discorde	<i>sic</i>	Et <i>si</i> fu pour oster d.
45 Pour ce qu'ostas la roide corde	Pour ce que ostas la corde	(as MS 1647).
48 Comparé l'eust ma vie orde	<i>sic</i>	<i>sic</i>

"MS 1647 seems to be very like MS 823. I have no doubt that a careful classification of the MSS would show that the systematic alterations of the feminine verses might be traced up to a very few correcting copyists; but that would require looking at all De Deguilleville's MSS, which is more than I can afford time for at present.

"You know that the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* was to a certain extent recast and increased by the author. To this second redaction, which has retained the A B C Prayer, belongs the MS 377 (our D), formerly 6988², on which see Paulin Paris, *Manuscrits français*, III. 243.

"The form of the Prayer is the *aab aab—bba bba*—stanza, so frequent in the French poetry of the 13th and 14th centuries, and of which I have mentioned many instances in my *Salut d'Amour* (Paris, 1867), p. 10."

Chaucer has not—so far as our present MSS show—englisht the last two stanzas of the French, beginning with the signs of contraction for *et* and *con*; though at least one other English writer has included the *et* in his A B C poem: see that on the Passion of Christ at the end of my *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, E. E. Text Soc., 1866.

There is no MS of Deguilleville's *Pèlerinages* in the British Museum, but Mr Henry Huth has one, and, during his holiday in Austria, one of his sons kindly let me copy the A B C from it; but as M. Meyer's version proved the best, the other was set aside.

¹ This verse has *not* been corrected. The same observation applies to v. 45, in 1647 as well as in 1139.

² This verse has been allowed to pass unaltered, because the correctors considered that the *e* of *Dame* could be pronounced as a syllable, notwithstanding the following vowel. So in v. 48, with *vie*.

Mr Henry Huth's MS contains, besides fly-leaves, 557 pages folio, written, in 2 cols., early in the 15th century. Inside the 3rd fly-leaf is written

“Le Romant des trois Pelerinages

Le premier pelerinage est de l'homme durant qu'il est encore viuant, pag. 1.

Le deuxiesme pelerinage est de l'Ame, separée de son corps, pag. 231.

Le troisieme pelerinage est de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, depuis sa Natiuité iusques a ce qu'il enuoya le saint Esprit aux Apostres ; en forme de monotessaron, c'est a sauoir les quatre Euangelistes mis en vn, pag. 407.”

(*in another hand*)

“Il y a cent quarante deux Images”

The stanzas of the French A B C are in 12 lines, or two sixes, the first ryming *aab*, *aab*, the second ryming *bba*, *bba*. The A B C is preceded by the following lines, and a drawing of a tonsured man (the Pilgrim) kneeling and praying to the Virgin, who is crowned, and sits on a throne, with the child Jesus in her arms (*p.* 185, *col.* 2).

A donc de la nue vn escript^t [page 185, col. 1]
 Me getta, et ainsi me dit,
 “Vois comment prier tu la dois,
 A ce besoing, et toutesfoiz
 Que semblable besoing auras
 Et quesmaine des vieilles seins ;
 Or le ly tost appartement,
 Et la requier deuotement,
 En lui promettant de cuer fin
 Que tu seras bon Pelerin,
 Que Jamais par chemin nuas
 Ou crudes trouuer mauuais pas.”

o R vous dy que l'escript ouury
 Je le desploiy, et le vy,
 Et fis de tous poins ma priere,
 En la forme et en la manere
 Que contenoit le dit escript.
 Et si com grace l'auoit dit,
 La forme de l'escript orrez
 Se vostre .a. b. C. sauez,
 Sauoir le pourrez delegier,
 Pour dire le, s'il est mestier.

[drawing described above]

11. *The Prologue to the Legende of Good Women.*—The variation of the Cambr.-Univ.-Libr. MS Gg 4. 27. from the standard version of all the other MSS known to us¹, is the most interesting bit of Chaucer-text intelligence that the Society's work has brought-out. I say 'brought-out', for though Mr Bradshaw printed the *Gg* Prologue as far back as June 30, 1864, I believe that he admitted no Englishman to his Holy-of-Holies till after I had given the order to have the Gg *Legende* copied, and then I was allowed to see the mystery that only Prof. Child and Prof. Ten Brink had (as I believe) been allowed to gaze-on before. March 27, 1871, was the red-letter day in my Chaucer-Minor existence; and, being one of 'the profane vulgar', I soon after told my brother vulgarians of the secret in *The Athenæum*. Now that I have a chance of printing the whole of the *Gg* version, though out of its order, I can't find it in my conscience to keep it back any longer. Mr Denis Hall of the Cambr. Univ. Library has accordingly read the former print, and the proof of it, with the MS for us, and our Members will find the two versions in our *Odd-Texts*, set opposite each other so as to show some of the differences between the texts, while double line-numbers show their correspondences, stars, * *, mark in each text the lines that are not in the other one, and '§, §,' mark the lines of one version that are altered in the other. Mr G. Parker of the Bodleian has read the Fairfax proof with the MS.

The chief gains of the *Gg* Prologue are its making-known to us (1) a new work of Chaucer's, now lost, his prose translation 'of the wrechede engendrynge of man-kynde, as men may in Pope Innocent ifynde' (see p. 11, above); and (2) that Chaucer had in his chest sixty books of divers lands and tongues telling the good deeds and

¹ The British-Museum Additional MS 12,524 has no Prologue (it begins at l. 273 of *Medea*), and Addit. 28,617 (once Mr Taylor's MS) begins at l. 513 of the Prologue, Fairfax type.

lives of women of old, whose memories and whose successors he loved so well. One feels grateful to the scribe of the *Gg* MS for having preserved us such a treasure as this Prologue; and one is ready, for the sake of it, to forgive him straight-off all his offences of 'swallowing *els* and *tees*' and writing 'hese' (*Temporary Preface*, p. 52) that one groaned over, and hated him for in former days (*Temp. Pref.*, p. 6). I offer humble apologies to the good soul's memory, and will count him worthy henceforth.

But besides these two points of interest, the *Gg* Prologue shows us large transpositions and omissions, and gives as much new matter, involving a change of the action of the story. Both versions open alike, with Chaucer's praise of his dear old books—from which the May flowers alone can draw him—and his praise of the Daisy; but in this praise the Fairfax version has above thirty fresh lines, and *Gg* has the Flower-and-Leaf bit as its lines 73-80, while the standard version (which I shall call *F* after the Fairfax MS) has them as l. 189-196. In lines 101-8, *F* (the later version) gives us an interesting allusion to Chaucer's age¹, when thinking of his dawntide visits to the daisy in his youth, he says,

That in myn herte / I feele yet the fire
That made me to ryse / er yt wer day,

and also a change in the date of the poem from the *Gg* 'Whan passed was almost the monyth of may', to the *F* 'And was now / the firste *morwe* of May'. With this change is connected the first great alteration of the incidents of the story; for whereas *Gg* only makes Chaucer roam through his green meadow one day to gaze on the daisy, and then dream that he was roaming there again with the same purpose, when a lark told him the God of Love was coming, *F* makes Chaucer go to the meadow before sunrise,

¹ See the *Gg* allusion in lines 261-2.

Wel wot I ther-by / thow begynnyst dote
As olde folis whan here sp[y]ryt faylyth

to see the daisy uncloze, kneel down beside it, greet it at its opening, give above 20 lines about the loves of his favourite birds, and then think he'll lie on his side all day, looking at the daisies (l. 175—187): at length he sleeps, as in *Gg*, in his arbour, but dreams that he lies in the meadow—not roams about it,—and sees the God of Love, without any lark telling him of the God's coming. Well; with the God comes his Queen,—whose name, *Alceste*, *Gg* alone gives—and then comes a wise transposition by *F*, for whereas *Gg* wrongly puts between the description of the Queen, and the balade sung in her praise, an account of the Nineteen Good Women and their true-loving sisterhood, *F* rightly keeps the Queen's balade (that is, *Tern*, for it has no *Envoy*) close to the description of her, and shifts the Nineteen Good Women to the end of the *Tern*. *Gg* also makes the women kneel to the daisy and sing the Queen's *Tern* round it, but *F* shifts the kneeling till after the *Tern*, and then makes the Good Women sing a new song of 3 lines and a half in honour of the Daisy. *F* also alters the 'Alceste' of the *Gg* burden of the *Tern* into 'My lady¹', and introduces six fresh lines (263-8) and alters the two next them, in praise of 'my lady free', 'my lady', 'my lady sovereyne', with evident intent to praise some special lady, unconnected at first with the Prologue, and whom I can't help thinking is this 'lady sovereyne', 'the Quene' to whom the book is to be given (as *F* alone says) on Chaucer's behalf, 'at Eltham or at Sheene', l. 496-7. If there had but been a *Court Circular* at the time, and we had a copy of it, I fully believe we should find that on a certain day when Her Majesty was drest in green, she had spoken to, or been seen by, Geoffrey Chaucer Esquire.

Next comes the long piece, lines 258—312 of *Gg*, which one can't help regretting that Chaucer left out of his revised version, *F*, about the blame of him for 'schew-

¹ The alteration is made too in *F*, l. 341, from *Gg*, l. 317.

ynge how that wemen han don mis,' his having sixty 'bokys olde & newe . . ful of storyis grete . . of sundery wemen, whiche lyf that they ledde, and euere an hundredede goode ageyn on badde', and who 'keptè so here name . . that men schal nat fynde a man that coudè be so trowe & kynde'. This is the greatest of the gains of the *Gg* version to us. After it the two texts run nearly together, till the end, though *Gg* mentions the new (and now lost) work of Chaucer's, his prose translation of Pope Innocent's 'wrechede engendrynge of mankynde' (l. 414-15), *F* introduces the reference to Richard the Second's Queen, Anne of Bohemia (l. 496), and inserts two expansions of the God of Love's speech to Chaucer, about the 20,000 good women of whom he knows nothing (l. 552-562), about the God's departure (l. 563-6), and the praise of Cleopatra (l. 568-577). And so the Prologue ends.

(If any reader of these *Trial-Forewords* can pick any hole in them, or strengthen any part of them, or give me any notes or hints for the rest of Chaucer's Minor Poems, I hope he will write to me at 3, St George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W.)

NOTES TO TRIAL-FOREWORDS.

p. 6. *The -ye -y test.* Prof. Ten Brink writes, "I beg leave to say that with regard to most of the poems I have worked with other tests besides the -y -ye test." Mr Joseph Payne writes, "The more I look into that -y -ye matter, the more I am struck with the ludicrousness—don't be offended—of making an unknown scribe's spelling a test of whether a given poem is the work of a great author. I won't however now go into the matter, except to say that it has never been proved—and cannot be—that *curteysie* was a word of four syllables; and therefore, until this *is* proved, there is not the smallest reason why -y and -ye should not rhyme together." Not having gone into this -y -ye question for myself, I have no right to give an opinion upon it. But if not one unknown scribe, but all the best of them who copied Chaucer's works, make him avoid the rhyme -y -ye¹, there must be some reason for it. But the settling of the genuineness of Chaucer's poems, and the spuriousness of those attributed to him by editors old and modern, is quite independent of the -y -ye test. For all his genuine poems we have manuscript authority within from 10 to 50 years after his death², and all these poems are worthy of him, except perhaps two or three that must have been written in his old age. If any one wants us to accept any other poems as Chaucer's, let him bring forward his external and internal evidence for their being our poet's work; but let him take notice that we don't admit old printers' attributings of authorship as good external evidence. On the other hand, we admit that our MS external evidence may be, and is, sometimes at fault: it is so, twice at least, in Shirley's case.

p. 8. Prof. Ten Brink says, "Why do you call it *evident* that the '*Lack of Stedfastness*' was written in the later years

¹ -ye for which there is etymological ground.

² The *Moder of God* MS authority is later.

of Richard II.'s reign?" 1, Because it's so awfully bad; more like Lydgate than Chaucer. 2, Because it reflects the utter failure of the kingly hand to do its duty,—to pick-out and smite wrong-doers,—that continued so long in Richard II.'s reign. (Compare Shakspeare's play with this Balade of Chaucer's.)

p. 8, note. *Fortune*, or 'Balade de Visage sauns Peynture.' Mr Brock says, "this poem, or at least Fortune's part of it, is a versification of Boethius, bk. ii, prose 2, and part of Prose 1. If you will look through pp. 30.5 of Dr R. Morris's ed. of *Boethius*, you will find the greater part of Chaucer's *Fortune* matter in prose. This fact will account for the presence of the poem in the Cambridge MS of Boethius, li 3. 21, along with the *Former Age*."

p. 9, note. *Barnabo Visconti, Lord of Milan*. From the following extracts it appears that Bernabo Visconti was one of the lords of Milan from 1354 to 1385,—being lord jointly with his two brothers Matthew and Galeazzo from 1354 to 1355, with his one brother Galeazzo from 1355 to 1378, and with his nephew John Galeazzo from 1378 to 1385. "Jean Visconti, archevêque et seigneur de Milan, mourut inopinément, le 5 octobre 1354. . . . Il laissoit, pour lui succéder, trois neveux, fils de son frère, Etienne Visconti: c'est entre eux que se partagea son héritage. Comme ils étoient entourés des soldats que l'archevêque avoit rassemblés pour combattre la ligue, ils n'eurent pas de peine à se faire proclamer seigneurs par toutes les villes de leur domination. Cette cérémonie, qui rappeloit encore des droits que le peuple n'exerçoit plus, se fit à Milan, le 12 octobre 1354. Les trois frères partagèrent ensuite et leurs états et leurs pouvoirs, de manière que chacun d'eux eût un apanage en propre, et que la souveraineté ne fût cependant pas divisée. La ville de Milan, centre du gouvernement, resta commune aux frères Visconti,¹ de même que celle de Gènes."—SISMONDI, *Histoire des Républiques italiennes du Moyen Age*, tom. vi. chap. xliii. p. 211 (ed. 1826).

On the cause and manner of Barnabo's death, Sismondi says:—

"Jean Galéaz, qui prenoit le titre de comte de Vertus, avoit succédé, en 1378, à son père Galéaz, dans le gouvernement de la moitié de la Lombardie. Il résidoit à Pavie, tandis que son oncle Bernabos demouroit à Milan. Ce dernier avoit partagé entre ses nombreux enfans les villes qui dépendoient de lui; il auroit désiré accroître leur portion en y joignant l'héritage de son neveu, et il avoit donné les mains à plusieurs complots contre la personne ou les provinces de

¹ The eldest brother, Matthew, was poisoned in 1355. *Sismondi*, vi. chap. xliii. p. 261.

Jean Galéaz. Le comte de Vertus s'étoit dérobé à ces intrigues, sans laisser connoître qu'il les eût découvertes. Tout-à-coup il s'étoit jeté dans la dévotion ; on ne le voyoit plus entouré que de religieux et de prêtres ; un rosaire à la main, il visitoit les églises, et il y demeuroit en prières devant les images des saints. Bernabos attribuoit ce changement à la pusillanimité de son neveu, et il étoit confirmé dans son jugement par les précautions qu'il voyoit prendre à Jean Galéaz pour sa sûreté : car ce prince avoit doublé ses gardes ; il en étoit sans cesse entouré, et il témoignoit son effroi au moindre mouvement imprévu. Enfin, au commencement de mai 1385, le comte de Vertus [Jean Galéaz] annonça qu'il vouloit aller en pèlerinage au temple de la sainte Vierge, au-dessus de Varèse, près du lac Majeur ; et il se mit en route avec une garde nombreuse qui ne s'écartoit pas de lui. Comme il approchoit de Milan, le 6 mai au matin, Bernabos vint à sa rencontre avec ses deux fils aînés. Jean Galéaz, après avoir embrassé son oncle avec tendresse, se retourna vers deux capitaines qui devinrent fameux à son service, Jacques del Verme et Antonio Porro, et il leur donna en langue allemande, qui étoit alors la langue militaire de toute l'Europe, l'ordre d'arrêter Bernabos. Aussitôt les soldats arrachèrent à ce seigneur la bride de sa mule ; ils coupèrent le ceinturon de son épée, et l'entraînèrent loin des siens, tandis que Bernabos appeloit vainement son neveu à son aide, et le supplioit de n'être pas traître à son propre sang. La ville de Milan ouvrit aussitôt ses portes à Jean Galéaz ; et ce fut dans un de ses châteaux que son seigneur déposé fut retenu prisonnier avec ses deux fils. A trois reprises il fut empoisonné pendant les sept mois que dura sa détention. Il mourut enfin le 18 décembre 1385. Ses cruautés et ses exactions l'avoient rendu si odieux aux peuples, qu'aucun de ses sujets n'essaya de le défendre. Ses alliés l'abandonnèrent avec la même indifférence, et Jean Galéaz, seul maître de la Lombardie, déposa le masque religieux qu'il avoit porté longtemps, et tourna contre ses voisins les forces qu'il avoit enlevées à son oncle."—*Sismondi*, tom. vii. chap. lii. pp. 254—256.

It was perhaps to Bernabo's tyranny that Chaucer alluded in the Prologue to his *Legende of Good Women*.

MS Gg.4.27, *Cambr. Univ. Libr.* Fairfax MS 16, *Bodleian*.

And not ben lyk tyrauntis of		And nat be lyke tirauntez / of
lumbardye		lumbardye
That vsyn wilfulhed & tyrannye		That han no reward / but at tyrannye

p. 8, 17. *Bukton*. This is probably the Robert Bucton named in the Patent Roll, 17 Ric. II, Pt. 1, skin 17 : "Pro Roberto Bucton. / Rex. Omnibus ad quos &c. salutem. Inspex-

imus litteras patentes carissime Consortis nostre Anne Regine Anglie factas in hec verba: 'Anne, par la grace de dieu, Royne dengleterre & de ffrance, & Dame Dirland, A touz ceuz qui cestes lettres verront ou orront: saluz. Sachez nous auoir, de notre grace especiale, donez & grantez a notre bien ame Esquier, Robert Buctoñ, certain quantite de pasture & bois appelle Gosewold, dedeinz notre seignourie de Eye. A auoir del feste de seiut Michel darrein passe, iusques la terme de notre vie, s'il a tant soit vinant, pur ent faire son profit & volunte sanz wast, sanz rien ent nous rendre. Done par tesmoignance de notre seel a Westminster le primer iour de Decembre, lan del regne de notre tresredote seigneur le Roy, quinzim.' Nos autem concessionem predictam, ac omnia & singula in dictis literis contenta rata habentes, & grata, ea pro nobis & heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, acceptamus, approbamus, ratificamus, & confirmamus prout littere predictae rationabiliter testantur. Et ulterius de gratia nostra speciali dedimus & concessimus eidem Roberto dictos boscum & pasturam, cum pertinentibus, habendum & tenendum sibi & heredibus suis, de nobis & heredibus nostris, ut de honore de Eye, per seruicium unius rose, ad festum Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste annuatim reddendum pro omnibus seruiciis imperpetuum. In cuius &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, vj die Octobris. per breve de priuato sigillo."

p. 9, 16. *Canterbury Tales*. The prosy bit of moralizing at the end of the Manciple's Tale of the Crow must have been written in Chaucer's late time. In the early Second-Nun's-Tale, the two following lines strike me as the weakest I have read in Chaucer, specially when one finds they are part of St Cecile's profession of her willingness to suffer martyrdom:

"I reche nat what wrong / that thou me profre,
For I cau suffre it / as a Philosophre."

They come near the *Flower-&-Leaf* lines,

"The savour eke rejoice would any wight
That had be sicke or melancolius
It was so very good and vertuous."

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p. 10. *The Legende*. "I have attempted to show in my *Studien*, p. 147, &c., that the Prologue was written during the spring of 1385, and the *Hous of Fame* in 1384. As for *Troylus*, it must have been written immediately before the *Hous of Fame*, because *Troylus*, the *Hous of Fame*, and the Prologue to the *Legende*, are inseparably linked together, though, from another point of view, the *Legende* Prologue begins a new period in Chaucer's development."—B. TEN BRINK.

p. 10, 16. *Legende of Good Women*. That the (probably) revised version of the Prologue to this Poem is after 14 Jan.

1382, when Richard II married his first Queen, Anne of Bohemia, we know from lines 496-7,

"And whan this boke ys made, yive it the quene
On my byhalfe, at Eltham, or at Sheene."

As these lines are not in the different version of the Prologue in MS Gg. 4. 27, Cambr. Univ. Libr., we must conclude that either this version was written before 1382, or at some later time when Chaucer had lost favour at Court. Anne died on June 7, 1394.

p. 18. *Chaucer's early love.* In the first version of his Prologue to the *Legende*, Cambr. Univ. MS Gg. 4. 27, lines 400-1 (and which are only in this MS), Alceste, speaking of Chaucer, says to Love,

"Whil he was ȝong, he kepte youre estat;
I not where he be now a renegat."

p. 19. *Philippa Chaucer's first Pension of £10 from the Duke of Lancaster.* For this, Mr Ponsonby A. Lyons has at present searcht in vain. He says, "I have since looked for the grant of £10 a year to Philippa Chaucer. It is not in the Calendar, and I doubt very much if it exists. You see that it is not mentioned in the grant to Chaucer; and in the Comptus of the Receiver-General of the Duchy for 50 Edw. III & 1 Ric. II it is not mentioned, nor Philippa's name, though there are two payments to Chaucer of his pension, for one of which he gave his acquittance, and the roll mentions the date of the warrant under which he was paid, Savoy 12 Jun. Anno li. I have at least ascertained that it would require a good deal of time and labour probably to find the grant, and a good deal certainly to prove that it does not exist. Are you aware that Katharine de Swynford was in the service of the Duchess Blanche? I have clear proof."

p. 20. *Gammon and guess mixt-up with Chaucer's Life.* Outsiders, even in a man's own time, can't help putting meanings into his work that he did not think of. Turner's wonder at some of Mr Ruskin's interpretations of his pictures has been recorded for us. Years ago, soon after Mr Millais had painted his Proscribed Royalist, I said to him, "Well, you've told us the story of the lovers' future pretty plainly." He answered, "No, I haven't; for I don't know it myself. What *do* you mean?" "Why," said I, "don't you see? You've put all the bright, green spots in the landscape (their past life) behind 'em, and scattered nothing but dead brown leaves in the foreground, their future, before them, over which they are both looking. Of course they're both to be miserable. How could you have told us so more plainly?" "All very fine," said he, "but I never meant anything of the kind. The place that I painted had dead leaves in front of it, and I painted what I saw."

p. 25. The rest of the *Legende* was written, I suppose, in 1385 and 1386. The fact that Chaucer lost his Comptrollership of Customs, &c., at the end of 1386, and that he lost his wife in 1387, may account for the *Legende of Good Women* not having been finished."—B. TEN BRINK. I believe that Chaucer found praising good women rather dull work,—the *Legende* falls off much towards its end,—and took to the *Wife of Bath*, &c., for a change.

p. 28. *Canterbury Tales: the Parson's Tale*. I believe in the genuineness of this Tale, and its Retractation. The way in which the writer walks into the people who wear those horrible disordinate scant clothes, and says 'the but-tokes of hem faren / as it were the hyndre part of a she Ape in the fulle of the Mone' (*Ellesmere MS*, lf 219; *Tyrwhitt*, iv. 184) seems to me Chaucerian. When the original *De Penitencia* of the Tale is found, I hope the above bit will not be found in it. I trust, too, that the noble bits in which the thralls are stuck-up for, and 'thise harde lordships' condemned (*Tyrwhitt*, iv. 229), will prove to be Chaucer's own¹; but I see nothing specially characteristic of him in them, though it is true that "Tho that thou clepest thy thralles, ben Goddes peple; for humble folk ben Cristes frendes"; a text that wanted a good many sermons preacht on it in early England as it still does in modern.

p. 30. "'Then, identifying his Loved-one with Pity,' &c. Where does Chaucer identify them? His *Compleynte* is addressed to that Pity which should dwell in his mistress's breast, and he nowhere falls from the allegory."—B. TEN BRINK. If the name 'allegory' is the right one, the above question answers itself, for in 'allegory' the thing signified, and the thing signifying, are one²: "I am the Vine, ye are the branches." If 'personification' (of the Pity) is the right name, why should Chaucer *dread* this Pity, st. 14, Tern. II, 3, l. 95? Wasn't his living Mistress in his eyes and heart when he wrote stanzas 6, 14, 16?—nay, the whole poem? A man gets out of 'figures of speech' when he's writing his heart in a poem like this.

"The Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS Ff. 1. 6 in your Parallel-

¹ Chaucer's sneer at 'Jak Strawe and his mayne,' in the Nun's Priest's Tale of Chanticleere, Group B, § 14, l. 4584-6, shows that he hadn't much sympathy with that 'working-man's movement.' I wonder when and where he got the impressions that made him allude to—and warm, about their young charges—the old dames or governesses who lookt after lords' daughters in his day:—

... 3e Maistresses in 3oure olde liff
bat lordes dougters han in gouvernaunce.

Doctor's Tale, Group C, § 1, l. 72-3, Petworth MS.

² See R. C. Trench in his *Parables*.

Text print of the *Compleynte to Pity* is of no value, being copied from the Tanner MS; but as the poem is very short, it may be interesting to readers to convince themselves of the fact with their own eyes."—B. TEN BRINK.

p. 32. Mr Skeat urges that the Roundel I have quoted cannot be separated from the other two Roundels that go before and after it in Dr Morris's edition, vi. 304-5: 'they all hang together, and tell parts of one story, 1. a man's falling in love; 2. his being refused; 3. his giving-up his love.' This is right; and unless all three Roundels are Chaucer's, I must give up the second as his.

p. 33. The missing line in the Duke's Lay, in the *Blaunche*. Mr A. J. Ellis says,

"The insertion of the line you propose will *not* give a first stanza like the second. It will give the following rhyme system:—

won	thee
non	me
mon	swete
bryghte	fre
myghe	se
agoon	mete

For recollect that *wone none* are scribe-writing for *won non* or *woon noon*, and *will* rhyme with *agoon*, do what you like.

"The insertion is not wanted for the sense. It is, in fact, a wholly superfluous and weak addition. The insertion is not wanted for the rhyme system, for it only introduces a new irregularity. Two similar stanzas are not wanted for the character of the song, described as

—a maner songe

Withoute noote, withoute songe,

and hence perfectly and designedly irregular.

"It seems as if Thynne's insertion had led you to suppose that one line was wanted. I don't feel the want, and would leave the lines as they are, unless there is some MS authority for a change."

p. 35, l. 40. "*But that is done.*" Compare with this the Conclusion of the *Anelyda and Arcite*, which I take to express Chaucer's own feelings about his own love:—

(st. 44)

"Then ende I thus: sith I may do no more,

I gif hit up for now and evermore;

For I shal never este put in balaunce

347

My sekernes, ne lerne of love the lore;

But as the swan—I have herd seyð ful yore—

Ayeins his dethe shal singen his penaunce,

350

So singe I here the destany or chaunce,

How that Arcite, Analida so sore

Hath thirled with the poynt of remembraunce." 353

p. 41, note. *The drye se, and the Carrenare.*

"Leonardo Dati (A.D. 1470), speaking of Africa, mentions a chain of mountains in continuation of the Atlas, three hundred miles long, 'commonly called Charenal.' In the fine chart of Africa by Juan de la Coxa (1500), this chain is made to stretch as far as Egypt, and bears the name of Carena. La Salle, who was born in 1398, and composed his map early in the fifteenth century, lays down the same chain, which corresponds, says Santarem (*Histoire de la Cosmographie*, iii. 456), to the *Kaphyn* of Ptolemy. These allusions place it beyond doubt [?] that the 'drie see' of Chaucer was the Great Sahara, the return from whence homewards would be by the chain of the Atlas or Carena."—*Saturday Review*, July 30, 1870, p. 143, col. 1.

p. 43. *Chaucer's obligations to Machault.* "I have treated this subject at length in my *Studien*, p. 7-12. I am sure that Chaucer had read the *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse*: he would have written a quite different poem if he had not. In the story of Ceyx and Alcyone, it is true, he borrowed but little, if anything, from Machault, but he was indebted to him for the idea of inserting this story into his plot, for the invocation to Morpheus, which is linked to it, &c."—B. TEN BRINK. When we get the *Dit* in print we can judge on this point. Meantime I think that Chaucer's

"In youthe he made of Ceys and Alcioun" (B, § 1, l. 57)

in his Man-of-Law's Head-Link, favours my notion of the *Ceyx and Alcione* having been once a separate work, though Prof. Ten Brink does not allow it: "The Man of Law is speaking only of *Stories* written by Chaucer, and not of other poetry. He does not even mention his greater epic poem, *Troilus*, but only his shorter tales. Therefore he could not mention the *Dethe of Blaunche* as a whole, but only the tale of *Ceys and Alcyoun*."

p. 43, l. 3 from foot. "'she went too much desiring it': why not, 'she desired it too much'? Or is the construction 'to go doing a thing', English, as well as early French and Italian? *che cantando vai*, for *che canti*."—B. TEN BRINK. My ignorance.—F.

p. 45, l. 22. "*abellir* = *venir à gre, plaire*, please. cf. Arnaut Daniel in Dante's *Purgatorio*: 'Tan m' abelit vuestre cortés deman.'"—B. TEN BRINK.

p. 46. *Le Remède de Fortune*. M. Paul Meyer, who has now examined this poem carefully, says (Aug. 6), "I think it has nothing to do with your favourite author," Chaucer.

p. 49. *The simile of the Table*. Mr E. Brock supposes that this was suggested by a passage in Boethius's *De Consolatione*, bk. v, metre 4, which Chaucer reproduces as "pilke stoiciens wenden þat þe soule hadde ben naked of it self, as a mirour or a clene parchemyn, so þat alle fygures mosten [fyrst] comen fro thinges fro wip-oute into soules, and ben inprentid in-to soules. *Textus*. Ryȝt as we ben wont some tyme by a swift poyntel to ficchen lettres emprentid in þe smopenesse or in þe plainesse of þe table of wex, or in parchemyn þat ne haþ no figure [ne] note in it."—p. 166-7, ed. Morris.

p. 52. *Eclympasteyre*. "I hold this to be a name of Chaucer's own invention. In Ovid occurs a son of Morpheus who has two different names: 'Hunc Icelon superi, mortale Phobetora vulgus Nominat.' *Phobetora* may have been altered into *Pastora*: *Icelonpastora* (the two names linked together) would give *Eclympasteyre*. (Studien, p. 11, 12.)"—B. TEN BRINK.

p. 53. *MS R. 3. 19, Trin. Coll. Cambr.* This MS contains the *Mossie Quince* and other poems which Stowe pitchforkt into his edition of Chaucer's Works. Notes in Stowe's hand are in the MS, and there can be no doubt that it was the original from which he printed, though it does not attribute the *Quince*, &c., to Chaucer.

p. 53. *Caxton's edition of the "Parlament of Foules."* Mr Bradshaw's description of the volume is—

The Caxton volume in the University Library, Cambridge, containing Chaucer's *Parlament of Foulis*, is imperfect, as is also the copy in the British Museum; and unfortunately these, which are the only two copies known, both break off at leaf 24, or the end of the third quire. The contents of leaves 1—24 are as follows:—

1. Ninety-eight 7-line stanzas.¹

Beginning (leaf 1 a):

The lyf so short the craft so longe to lerne.

End (leaf 17 a):

The better/ and thus to rede I wil not spare.

Explicit the temple of bras.

* * * After stanza 97 is the line *Que bien ayme / tarde oublie*, but no roundel as in the printed *Parlament of Foules*.

2. Twenty-one 8-line stanzas, with three 7-line stanzas quoted from Chaucer after the eighth.

Beginning (leaf 17 a):

Here next foloweth a trefyse, whiche Ioħn Gkogan Sente vnto the lordes and gentil men of the kynges hows / exortynge them to lose no tyme in theyr yougthe / but to vse vertues.

¹ Chaucer's *Parlament of Foules*, printed in our *Parallel-Text*.

My noble sonnes / and also my lordes deer.

End (leaf 21 b) :

So that thurgh negligence, no thing ye lese.

Thus endeth the traytye wiche Iohn Skogan sent to the lordes and estates of the kynges hous,

*** The 3 stanzas with refrain, quoted from Chaucer, are those which begin with the line,

The first stok / fader of gentilnesse,
and end with

Al were he crowne mytor or diademe.

3. One 7-line stanza.

Beginning (leaf 21 b) :

Wyth empty honde men may no hawkes lure.

End (leaf 21 b) :

And wene thy self be noght / & be a wrecche.

4. Three 7-line stanzas with refrain.

Beginning (leaf 21 b) :

The good councyl of chawcer.

Fle ye fro þ^e prees & dwelle with sothfastnes.

End (leaf 22 a) :

And trouthe the shal delyuer, it is no drede.

5. Three terns of 8-line stanzas, each tern with its own refrain, the whole followed by a 6-line Envoy.

Beginning (leaf 22 b) :

Balade of the vilage without peyntyng^t.

Playntyf to fortune.

This wrecchid worldes transmutacoñ.

End (leaf 24 a) :

That to som better estate, he may atteyne.

*** The first tern has the refrain 'For fynally fortune I deffye'. The second tern is headed 'Thanswer of fortune to the pleintyf,' and has the refrain, 'And eke thou hast thy best frend a lyue'. The third tern has the refrain, 'In general this rule may not fayle,' and its three stanzas are headed, 1. Thanswer to fortune; 2. Fortune; 3. The pleyntyf. The 6-line envoy is headed 'Thenuoye of fortune.'

6. The first three 7-line stanzas of a poem. The rest wanting.

Beginning (leaf 24 a) :

Thenuoye of chaucer to skegan

To broken ben the statutes hye in heuen.

Breaks off (leaf 24 b) :

Was neuer erst scogan blamed for his tonge.

Unfortunately both copies break off at this point, so that it is impossible to say what more was in the volume.

There is only one other small quarto volume here printed by Caxton, and containing anything by Chaucer. It is 10 leaves only, and forms one quire, of which only the last page is blank. The contents are as follows :

1. Thirty 7-line stanzas.¹

Beginning (leaf 1 a) :

t hou fiers god of armes / mars the rede.

End (leaf 5 b) :

And sende it to her theban knyght arcyte.

2. Twelve stanzas.

Beginning (leaf 6 a) :

Here foloweth the compleynt of anelida quene of hermenye vpon false arcyte of Thebes.

So thirleth with the point of remembrance.

End (leaf 9 a) :

Hath thirled with the peynt of remembrance.

Thus endeth the compleynt of anelida.

* * There is no stanza continuing the story.

3. Three 7-line stanzas with refrain, and 5-line Envoy.

Beginning (leaf 9 a) :

The compleint of chaucer vnto his empty purse.

To you my purs / and to none other wight.

End (leaf 9 b) :

Haue mynde vpon my supplicaciō.

Explicit. . .

* * The refrain is 'Be heuy agayn / or ellis mote I dye', and the Envoy is headed 'Thenuoye of chaucer vnto the kynge.'

4. Six couplets.

Beginning (leaf 10 a) :

Whan feyth failleth in prestes sawes.

End (leaf 10 a) :

Be brought to grete confusiō.

5. Two couplets.

Beginning (leaf 10 a) :

Hit falleth for euery gentilman.

End (leaf 10 a) :

And the soth in his presence.

6. Two couplets.

Beginning (leaf 10 a) :

Hit cometh by kynde of gentil blode.

¹ The Proem and Story of Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite*.

End (leaf 10 a) :

The werk of wisdom berith witnes.

Et sic est finis. . .

p. 84. *The Sun, the betrayer of lovers*: *Mars*, l. 7, 27-8.

91. Compare its coming to Troilus and Creseide after their first night, bk. II, st. cci, l. 1401, &c.

"O cruwel Day! accusour of the joie

That nyght and love han stole, and faste ywrien!

Acorsed be thi comynge into Troie!

For every boure hath oon of thi bryght eyen:

Envyous Day! what liste the so to spyen?

What hastow loste? why sekestow this place?

Ther God thy light so quenche, for his grace!"

p. 90. No 'glad nyght' for Chaucer. Compare his aside in *Troilus and Creseide*, bk. III, st. clxxxii, l. 1270-1, when speaking of the lovers' first night together:

"O blisful nyght, of hem so longe isoughte,

How blithe unto hem bothè two thow were!

Why nade I swich oon with my soule ibought?

Ye, or the lestè joie that was there?"

Isn't this the old sad longing strain of melody again? (I never thought of this passage when writing the line on p. 90, and was very pleased to hit on it afterwards. It was an 'undesigned coincidence' strong as direct proof that my interpretation of the *Pity* was right.)

The same air I catch again in the third book of the *Hous of Fame*, lines 421-8,—

"But sithe that Iovys, of his grace,

As I have seyde, wol the solace,

Fynally with thise thinges,

Unkouthe syghtes and tydynges,

To passè with thyn hevynesse,—

921

Such routh hath he of thy distresse,—

(That thou suffrest debonairly,

And wost thy-selfen outtirly,

Disesperat of allè blys,

Syth that fortune hath made amys

The frot of al thyn hertes reste

Languish, and eke in poynt to breste,

That he, through hys myghty merite,

Wol do than ese, al be hyt lyte."—

930

notwithstanding that I believe Chaucer refers to his own wife in the poem,—

"And for I sholde the bet abreyde,

Me mette 'Awake!' to me he seyde,

Ryght in the samè vois and stevene

That useth oon I koudè neuene,"—

54

and that he seems to introduce again here the blind that he put into lines 8-9 of the *Parlament of Foules*. Seems, I say, but the following passage may only mean that Chaucer had never succeeded in his real love, though he had married :—

“ And neverthelesse hast set thy witte 112
 (Although in thy hede ful lytel is,)
 To make songes, dytees and bookys
 In ryme, or ellès in cadence,
 As thou best canst in reverence 116
 Of Love, and of hys servantes eke,
 That have hys servyse soght, and seke ;
 And peynest thee to preyse his arte,
Although thou haddest never parte ; 120
 Wherefore—also God me blesse—
 Ioves halt hyt grete humblesse,
 And vertu eke, that thou wolt make
 A nyghte ful ofte thyn hede to ake, 124
 In thy studye so thou writest,
 And evermo of love enditest,
 In honour of hym, and preysynges,
 And in his folkès furtherynges, 128
 And in hir matere al devisest,
 And nought hym nor his folke dispisest,
Although thou maiste goo in the daunce
Of hem that hym lyst not awaunce.” 132

p. 80. *by* meaning *about*. Compare Chaucer's use of the word in line 271 of the *Legende*, where *by* = of, about.

“ This balade may ful wel ysongen be,
 As I have seyde erst, *by* my lady fre.”

p. 80. *Shirley's naming of the folk in the “Complaynt of Mars.”* Speght quoted this, I find. Those persons whose moral sense is hurt by this, and by Shirley's attributing to Chaucer the Swiving or Maidenhead-taking ‘Balade’¹ (that is, part of one ;) or both of them, are reminded that Shirley (like other people) makes mistakes, and has certainly set-down as Chaucer's at least two spurious poems, the continuation of the *Pity*, and ‘*þe Cronycle*’ in the Appendix to our *Odd Texts*. Moreover, Shirley only says of the *Mars* that “some men sayn” it was made about the Duchess of York and my Lord of Huntingdon. For myself, I accept Shirley's authority till he is proved wrong. He was a man of station, a true lover of poets and poetry, and, I feel sure, set-down naught in malice.

p. 86, 87. *Venus's motion : Mars the 3rd Lord of Heaven.*

¹ In *Jyl of Breyntrford*, &c., ed. F. J. F., sent to Members of the Ballad Society in 1871.

Mr Brae, who was the first to point out the obvious astronomical allusions in this poem, writes to me, "that in the *Mars*, Chaucer plainly adopts the periods anciently ascribed to the planets as reported by Macrobius in the '*In Somn. Scipionis*,' of which Chaucer was a great reader. *Venus*, *Mercury*, and *the Sun* had each a period of one year, while that of *Mars* was two years : hence,

1. The motion of Venus being double that of Mars—

‘She spedded as fast in her way

Almost in one day as he did in tway.

2. The motion of Mars being *one degree in two days*—

‘He passeth but a sterre in dayes two.’

And the mention of *dayes two* is so specific that it cannot but have a special meaning. Wherefore either *sterre* is a metonym for *degree* ; or, which is more probable, Chaucer’s word was originally *steppe*, *gradus*, and was miscopied *sterre* by the early scribes.

3. The order of the spheres begins with Saturn (in reverse order), ‘*Saturni sphaera quæ est prima de septem*,’ Cap. XIX. Therefore, that of Mars being third, he is called by Chaucer ‘the three heaven’s lorde above’—three for third, as twelve for twelfth.”

p. 87, note. Mr Brae has also suggested a possible connection between *Valaunce* and the Latin *vallum* ; but I can’t get-on with that either. He now suggests that *balance* or *valance* is a corruption of *paleis*. This would suit the astronomical necessities of the case ; but would make *paleis* come twice in the same line.

On these points in *The Complaint of Mars*,—

1. 30. the thridde hevenes lord above.

1. 53. into her nexte paleys.

1. 69-70. Wherefore she sped as fast in her wey,
Almost in oon day, as he dyd in twey.

(and l. 103, 112.)

1. 113. Now fleeth Venus into Cyllenius toure.

1. 145. Cyllenius ryding in his chevaché,
Fro Venus balance myght his paleys se . . .
And her receyueth as his frende ful dere.

—I ought to have referred before to *The Shepheards Kalender*, the great Middle-Age manual of Astronomy, &c. &c. (See my ed. of *Captain Cox*, p. lxxviii-lxxxv.)

“ Of Mars

“The planet of Mars is called the God of battel and of war, and he is the *third* planet, for he raigneth next vnder the gentle planet of Iupiter. [“Saturne is the highest planet of al the seuen (*sign. M.*) . . Next after the planet of colde

p. 91. *Gransson*. This is perhaps the Oto de Graunsone mentioned in the Patent Rolls, 17 Rich. II, p. 1, No. 339, sixth skin. ¹*Pro Otone de Graunsone*¹ / *Rex*. Omnibus ad quos &c. salutem. Sciatis, quod de gratia nostra speciali, & pro bono seruicio quod dilectus & fidelis noster Oto de Graunson nobis impendit & impendet in futurum, Ac eciam consideracionem habentes, tam de eo quod ipsum penes nos ad terminum vite sue retinuimus moraturum quam de homagio quod ipse nobis fecit in forma subsequenti, videlicet, "Je deneigne votre homme lige de vie et de membre; & terrien honur & foi & loiautee vous porteray encontre touz genz que pourront viure ou morir, sauue encontre le Conte de Sauueye, mon souerain seigneur; & en cas que mesme celui Conte, hors de son pais soit armez contre vous, que adonques ie serra ouesque vous encontre lui & touz autres" / de assensu consilii nostri concessimus predicto Otoni, Centum viginti & sex libras, tresdecim solidos, & quatuor denarios, percipienda annuatim pro termino vite sue ad scaccarium nostrum, ad terminos Pasche & sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones. In cuius &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xviii. die Nouembri

per breve de priuato sigillo.

There is in the Roll the Grant of an Annuity of 126*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to Sir Otes de Graunsone on 17 Nov. 1393, and also to Oto Grauntson a payment of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in Michs. term 1372, and other payments of 46*l.*, and 63*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

p. 100. *Movements*. Compare in 'A new Collection of Songs and Poems. By Thomas D'urfey, Gent. London; Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh, at the Black Bull in Cornhill; 1683', p. 13, 'A Song to a very Beautiful, but very Proud Lady, set by Mr Farmer in two *Movements*'; and on p. 50, the 'Second *Movement*' of 'The Storm; a Song in Sir Barnaby Whigg.'

The planet Mercury might well be in Taurus, *i. e.* Venus's palais, with the sun in Taurus; but to place him in Libra, 5 signs off, is an astronomical blunder = a libel on Chaucer; and, to explain the darkness of the cave by the diminution of Venus's phase, is, if possible, worse."

¹—¹ In the margin.

Appendix
to
Trial- Forewords.

APPENDIX.

(From Riley's Memorials of London and London Life.
A.D. 1276—1419, p. 377-8, ed. 1868.)

- I. *Lease to Geoffrey Chaucer of the dwelling-house at Algate.*
[10 May,] 48 *Edward III*, A.D. 1374, *Letter-Book G.*
fol. cccxxi (Latin).

To all persons to whom this present writing indented shall come, Adam de Bury, Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Commonalty of the City of London, greeting. Know ye that we, with unanimous will and assent, have granted and released by these presents unto Geoffrey Chaucer the whole of the dwelling-house above the Gate of Algate, with the rooms built over, and a certain cellar beneath, the same gate, on the South side of that gate, and the appurtenances thereof; to have and to hold the whole of the house aforesaid, and the rooms thereof, unto the aforesaid Geoffrey, for the whole life of him the same Geoffrey. And the said Geoffrey shall maintain and repair the whole of the house aforesaid, and the rooms thereof, so often as shall be requisite, in all things necessary thereto, competently and sufficiently, at the expense of the same Geoffrey, throughout the whole life of him the same Geoffrey. And it shall be lawful for the Chamberlain of the Guildhall of London, for the time being, so often as he shall see fit, to enter the house and rooms aforesaid, with their appurtenances, to see that the same are well, and competently, and sufficiently, maintained and repaired, as aforesaid. And if the said Geoffrey shall not have maintained or repaired the aforesaid house and rooms competently and sufficiently, as is before stated, within forty days after the time when by the same Chamberlain he shall have been required so to do, it

shall be lawful for the said Chamberlain wholly to oust the beforenamed Geoffrey therefrom, and to re-seise and resume the same house, rooms, and cellar, with their appurtenances, into the hand of the City, to the use of the Commonalty aforesaid; and to hold the same in their former state to the use of the same Commonalty, without any gainsaying whatsoever thereof. And it shall not be lawful for the said Geoffrey to let the house, rooms, and cellar, aforesaid, or any part thereof, or his interest therein, to any person whatsoever. And we, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty aforesaid, will not cause any gaol to be made thereof, for the safe-keeping of prisoners therein, during the life of the said Geoffrey; but we and our successors will warrant the same house, rooms, and cellar, with their appurtenances, unto the before-named Geoffrey, for the whole life of him, the same Geoffrey, in form aforesaid: this however excepted, that in time of defence of the city aforesaid, so often as it shall be necessary, it shall be lawful for us and our successors to enter the said house and rooms, and to order and dispose of the same, for such time, and in such manner, as shall then seem to us to be most expedient. And after the decease of the same Geoffrey, the house, rooms, and cellar aforesaid, with their appurtenances, shall wholly revert unto us and our successors. In witness whereof, as well the Common Seal of the City aforesaid, as the seal of the said Geoffrey, have been to these present indentures interchangeably appended. Given in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the city aforesaid, the 10th day of May, in the 48th year of the reign of King Edward, after the Conquest the Third.

II. *On the name "CHAUCER" as connected with the City of London.*

Mr Riley in the Introduction to his *Memorials of London and London Life*, A.D. 1276—1419, says at p. xxxiii. :

The name "Chaucer" frequently occurs in the early Letter-Books, but as it was the then French term, commonly in use, for "shoe-maker," it is doubtful in some instances whether it is employed strictly as a surname inherited from a father or more remote ancestor, or merely as a designation of its owner's trade. Apart from the two

instances to be found by reference to the Index,¹ the name "Chauce" has also been met with in the following cases:—Stephen le Chauce, surety for William de Clay, 1281 (B 1); Baldwin le Chauce acknowledges a debt, 1303 (B 55, 60); dwells in Cordewanerstrete, 1307 (B 81, 83, 84); ²Elyas le Chauce, mentioned in 1307 (B 84, C 129); John le Chauce (evidently a man of substance, as being one of the three or four Commoners named as summoned with the Aldermen to the Guildhall), 1298 (B 94); Baldwin le Chauce, again mentioned in 1311, 1312 (B 112, xix); Stephen le Chauce, dwelling in Bradestrete (Broad Street) Ward, 1298 (B xxxvii); Philip le Chauce, a debtor to William de Leyre, Alderman, 1308 (B xxxviii); Philip le Chauce again named in 1312 (D 68); Robert le Chauce, 1310 (D 105); Richard le Chauce, one of the Vintners sworn at St Martin's Vintry, to make proper scrutiny of wines 1320 (E 94); Richard le Chauce, assessed in 1340, to lend 10 pounds towards the expenses of the French war, the largest sum assessed upon any ³person being 400l. (F 33); conveyance of a shop in the Parish of St Mary Aldermaricherche, next to ⁴that of

¹ On the 1st of August 1342, John Chauce, a vintner, is present, and consenting with other vintners, at a congregation of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, when an Ordinance is made that no taverner shall mix putrid wine with good wine, or forbid any one of a company drinking in his tavern to go into the cellar and see that the vessels into which the wine is poured are empty and clean, and whence it comes.—*Riley*, p. 214.

On 11 June 1371, Henry Chauce, vyntner, is one of the mainpennors of Alan Grygge who is accused by Nicholas Mollere of having spread the false news that aliens might trade in the City of London as freely as freemen, &c. Afterwards, Alan being judged guiltless, Nicholas is, for his lies, adjudged to be put in the pillory for an hour, 'and to have the whetstone hung from his neck, for such liars—according to the custom of the City—provided.' *Riley*, p. 353. 'Sir N. Harris Nicolas (*Life of Chauce*) has shown that John Chauce was son of Richard below mentioned.'—R.

² In the List of Lay Subsidies, 12 Edward II, Elias le Chauce is named as being assessed at 20 shillings in the Ward of Cordewanerestrete. This name, and those of Richard and John Chauce (father and son) are the only ones in this list that are mentioned by Sir N. H. Nicolas in his inquiries into the parentage of Chauce.—R.

³ William de Caustone; see note to page 210. Thomas de Cavendisshe was assessed to contribute £80.—R.

⁴ It seems rather doubtful whether this implies that Richard le Chauce kept this shop, or only that the shop belonged to him. If the former, the locality (adjoining Cordwainers' Street) considered, he might possibly have been a Shoemaker, and in such case he would be merely owner of the tavern in the Reole (mentioned in the sequel) and not a Vintner himself.—R.

Richard Chaucer, situate apparently in Watling Street, he being a witness to the deed, 1345 (F 111); Richard Chaucer is assessed at 6 pounds and one mark towards the 3000*l.* given to the King, 1346 (F 121, 125); Henry Chaucer, 'a man-at-arms among those provided by Cordewanerestrete Ward for the King's service, 1350 (F 187); Nicholas Chaucer, grocer, 1351 (F 206); John Chaucer, 1352 (F 216); Nicholas Chaucer, of Cordewanerestrete, 1356 (G 46); Nicholas Chaucer of Soperelane, Warden of the trade of Grocers, Pepperers, and Apothecaries, 1365 (G 173); ²Thomas Chaucer, chief Butler of Henry IV, and Coroner *ex officio*, 1403 (I 24).

Upon an examination of the above names, the evidence [of which there is none whatever] seems to preponderate in favour of the view that Richard le Chaucer, mentioned more than once in the list, and who was apparently a Vintner, was the father of Geoffrey Chaucer, our early Poet. Stow unqualifiedly asserts that such was the fact

III. 13 June 1374. *Grant by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, to Geoffrey Chaucer of £10 a year for life, for his own and his wife's services.*

"Johan, &c." [that is, 'Johan, par la grace de dieu, Roy de Castille et de Leon, duc de Lancastre,' as on leaves 9, 15 back, &c.] "faisons savoir que nous, de nostre grace especial, et pur la bone &c [that is, 'la bone et agreable service'] que nostre bien ame Geffray Chaucer nous ad fait, et auxint pur la bon service que nostre bien ame Philippe, sa femme, ad fait a nostre treshonure dame et Mere, la Royne, (que dieu pardoigne), et a nostre tres-ame compaigne la Royne [? his own Duchess], avons grante au dit Geffray x livres par an, a terme de sa vie, apprendre annuellement le course de sa vie durant, a nostre Manoir de la Sauvoye prese Loundres, par les mayns de nostre Re-

¹ Sent to Sandwich, in the ship of Andrew Turke.—*Riley.*

² One of the two sons of Geoffrey Chaucer, the Poet.—*Riley.*

(This is one of the bits of traditional gammon about Chaucer. Because there was a Thomas Chaucer, *therefore* he was Geoffrey's son. Because Thomas quartered the arms of Roet with his own, *therefore* Geoffrey's wife was a Roet, and sister to John of Gaunt's concubine-wife, &c. Mr Bradshaw will prick this bubble some day.)

ceyvour general, qore est, ou qi pur le temps serra, as termes de Saint Michel et de Pasques, par ouelles porcions. En tesmoignance &c. Done &c a Sauvoye prese Loundres le xiii jour de Juyn, lan xlviij ” [13th of June, 49 Edw. III, 1374]. *Register of John, Duke of Lancaster, In the Reign of Edward III, leaf 90.*

Chaucer was then, and had long before been, in the King's service, and Mr Ponsonby A. Lyons, who first printed the above document (and that which follows) in *The Athenæum*, No. 2280, July 8, 1871, p. 49, col. 2, rightly says that it “shows that at this time [1374] Chaucer had left the Duke's service; otherwise the pension would have been given for the service ‘que nous ad fait, ét ferra per le temps avenir’ as in the three grants which precede Chaucer's, and in the one which follows, as well as in very many others in this volume which contain these or similar words.”

20 Jan. 1375. *Extract from the Duke of Lancaster's Warrant to John de Yerdeburgh, Clerk of his Great Wardrobe, to pay Chaucer's Pension (and others).*

“Johan etc. a nostre tres ame Clerc Sire Johan, ut supra [Sire Johan de Yerdeburgh, Clerc de nostre grant Garderobe] saluz. Pource que nous voulons que certainz gentz de-souz nomez, soient paieez de les sommes souz escripts, en et par la manere quensuit, vos mandons que des issues de nostre Receit, paieez et deliverez a . . . Gefrey Chacy x li. par an, as termes de Saint Michel et de Pasques par ouelles porcions, commenceant le primer paiement a le Fest de seint Michel derrein passe . . . Done al Manoir de la Savoye le xx jour de Januer, lan xlviij [20 Jan. 1375]. *Register, leaf 224 ;—ib. p. 49, col. 3.*

TRIAL-FOREWORDS TO MINOR POEMS.

FURTHER ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

(20 Dec., 1873.)

FRESH CHAUCER NOTICES,¹ for p. 17—28.

Geoffrey Chaucer the Poet, and Philippa his wife.

GEOFFREY CHAUCER is the son of JOHN CHAUCER, vintner, of Thames Street, London, and (no doubt) Agnes his wife (see p. 131, '1380, June 19'; p. 135, '1354, April 3'). Geoffrey is also the grandson of RICHARD CHAUCER, vintner (see p. 134, '1349, Easter Day').

Public Record Office.

- 1360, March 1. *Wardrobe Book* $\frac{2}{3}$, leaf 70. £16 paid, by Edward III's order, toward C.'s ransom. [No trace yet found of Chaucer between 1360 and 1366. He is not mentioned in the Duchy of Lancaster books during this period.²]
- ? 1366. Exch. Q. R. *Wardrobe* $\frac{3}{10}$. Schedule of Edw. III's Household for Christmas gifts. C. an esquire, and Philippa C. a damoiselle.
1369. Exch. L. T. R. *Wardrobe* 43 Ed. 3. Box A No. 8. Advance of £10 to C. by Henry de Wakefeld, while in the war in France.
- 1369, 1 Sept. Exch. Q. R. *Wardrobe* $\frac{4}{9}$. Geoffrey C. (squire of less estate) and Philippa C. have mourning for the Queen.
1369. Exch. Q. R. *Wardrobe* $\frac{2}{3}$, leaf 16, back. C. to have 20s. for summer clothes.
1372. Exch. Q. R. *Wardrobe* $\frac{2}{7}$. (anno 3.) C. to have 40s. for winter and summer clothes.
1373. Exch. Q. R. *Wardrobe* $\frac{2}{7}$. (anno 4.) C. to have 40s. for winter and summer clothes.
1373. *Pipe Roll*, 47 Ed. 3. C. owes the King £10, which the King allows to Medford.
- 1372, Aug. 30. 46 Ed. 3. The Duke of Lancaster grants

¹ Mr Selby of the Public Record Office has been good enough to revise and verify the P. R. O. references for me.

² Chaucer's name does not occur in the long list of Squires in the "Nomina Militum et Scutiferorum" in the 'Register of the reign of K. Richard the second', folio 6, but the names of 'Monsieur Odes Granson' (no. 18), 'Monsieur Johan Dabrygecourte', and 'Johan Skogan' (no. 23, leaf 6, back, col. 2) do occur, though the latter is crosst through, but with no letters beside, of 'Chr' or 'mort', to shew that he was knighted or dead.

Philippa C. a pension of £10. Duchy of Lanc. Registers. Div. 11, No. 13, fo. 159, d.

1374. Exch. Q. R. *Memoranda*, 48 Ed. 3, Michs. Writ to Exchequer to pay C. for his journeys to Genoa and Florence.
 1374 or 3. Exch. L. T. R. *Foreign Accounts*, 47 Ed. 3, Roll 3. C.'s accounts for his journeys to Genoa and Florence, from 1 Dec. 1372 to 23 May 1373.

Customs Rolls, 1374 to 1386.

1374. Exch. Q. R. *Memoranda*, 48 Ed. 3, Trinity. C. made Controller of Great and Petty¹ Customs.
 1374, 26 Feb. to 29 Sept. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (1) Collectors, Bernes and Brembre. Controllers, Legh and Chaucer successively.
 1374, 29 Sept. to 26 July 1375. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (2) Collectors, Bernes and Brembre. Controller, C.
 1375, 27 July to 15 Nov. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (3) Collectors, Brembre and Walworth. Controller, C.
 1375, 29 Sept. to 16 Oct. 1376. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (4) Collectors, Warde and Girdelere. Controller, C.
 1376, 16 Oct. to 24 Aug. 1377. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (5) Collectors, Warde and Northbury. Controller, C.
 1377, 24 Aug. to 29 Sept. 1378. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (6) Collectors, Brembre and Philippot. Controller, C.
 1378, 29 Sept. to 29 Sept. 1379. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (7) Collectors, Brembre and Philippot. Controller, C.
 1379, 29 Sept. to 29 Sept. 1380. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (8) Collectors, Brembre and Philippot. Controller, C.
 1380, 29 Sept. to 29 Sept. 1381. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (9) Collectors, Brembre and Philippot. Controller, C.
 1381, 29 Sept. to 29 Sept. 1382. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (10) Collectors, Brembre and Philippot. Controller, C.
 1381, 29 Sept. to 29 Sept. 1382. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (1) Collectors, Organ and Sibill. Hyde and Chaucer successively Controllers of Petty Customs.
 1382, 29 Sept. to 29 Sept. 1383. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (11) Collectors, Brembre and Philippot. Controller, C.
 1382, 29 Sept. to 5 Dec. 1382. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (2) Collectors, Organ and Sibill. Controller, C. Petty Customs.
 1382, 5 Dec. to 29 Sept. 1383. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (3) Collectors, Organ and Rauf. Controller, C. Petty Customs.
 1383, 29 Sept. to 1 July 1384. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (12) Collectors, Brembre and Philippot. Controller, C.

¹ A mistake of the scribe. Chaucer was not appointed Controller of Petty Customs till May 8, 1382. See, further on, the entry under '1381, Sept. 29 to 24 Sept. 1382'.

- 1383, 29 Sept. to 3 July 1384. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (4) Collectors, Organ and Rauf. Controller, C. Petty Customs.
- 1384, 1 July to 29 Sept. 1384. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (13) Collectors, Brembre and Organ. Controller, C.
- 1384, 3 July to 29 Sept. 1385. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (5) Collectors, More and Rauf. Controller, C. Petty Customs.
- 1384, 29 Sept. to 29 Sept. 1385. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (14) Collectors, Brembre and Organ. Controller, C.
- 1385, 29 Sept. to 29 Sept. 1386. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (15) Collectors, Brembre and Organ. Controller, C.
- 1385, 29 Sept. to 29 Sept. 1386. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (6) Collectors, More and Rauf. Controller, C. Petty Customs.
- 1386, 29 Sept. to 4 Dec. 1386. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (16) Collectors, Brembre and Organ. Controller, C.
- 1386, 29 Sept. to 13 Dec. 1386. Exch. L. T. R. *Customs Roll*. (7) Collectors, More and Rauf. Controller, C. Petty Customs.

- 1379-80. Exch. L. T. R. *Foreign Accounts*, Roll 4, 3 Ric. II. Accounts for C.'s journeys to (a) Paris and Monstrell, from 17 Feb. to 25 March 1377; (b) to Flanders (or France, in one enrolment) from 30 April to 26 June 1377.
- 1379-80. Exch. L. T. R. *Foreign Accounts*, Roll 4, 3 Ric. II. Accounts for C.'s Lombardy (Milan) journey, from 28 May to 19 Sept. 1378.
- 1380, May 1. *Close Roll*, 3 Ric. II. membr. 9, back. Cecilia Chaumpaigne releases C. "de raptu meo."¹
- 1380, June 19. City Hustings Roll, 110, 5 Ric. II, membrane 2. Geoffrey Chaucer, son of John Chaucer,² vintner, releases to Henry Herbury all his (G. C.'s) right to his father's former house in Thames St. [Geoffrey's mother is no doubt Agnes, John's wife: see below.]

¹ Perhaps for carrying off an heiress or woman of full age, to marry to a friend. As rape was a felony then, it could not legally be compromised; and if it had been, the compromise would not have been witness by deed enroll'd. See more on this point on p. 136—144.

² This John Chaucer is known as the son of Richard Chaucer, vintner, by the fact that, though Richard does not mention his own son John in his will, he does mention his wife's son Thomas Heyroun. This Thomas Heyroun leaves his property to be sold by his brother John Chaucer; and in the two Deeds by which John Chaucer sells and conveys Heyroun's lands, he describes himself as executor of the will of his brother Thomas Heyroun. See the Appendix to Nicolas's Life, and the entries below, p. 132. John Chaucer is witness, in 1363, to a Deed of Grant by Thomas Fynch; see the Hustings Roll, 91.

Clerk-of-the-Works Writs, and Accounts, &c.

- 1389 to 1391. *Clerk of Works*, $\frac{878}{23}$. (C. appointed July 12, 1389.) File of 16 writs, &c. 1st not to C., possibly one other bit not. All others to or concerning him.
- 1389, Sept. 27. King's Writ to C. directing him to pay the arrears of Henry de Yevele's salary of 12*d.* a day, as former Clerk of the Works.
- 1389, Nov. 10. An Inventory,—partly eaten away, and ink very faint,—of dead stock, tools, &c., about the King's Palaces, Castles, &c., seemingly delivered to Chaucer.
- 1390, Feb. 16. King's Writ to C. directing him to pay the arrears of wages due to William Hannay, Controller of the King's Works (to check Chaucer), at 12*d.* a day.
- [1390, July 12. C. is appointed Clerk of the Works at St George's Chapel, Windsor, which is threatened with ruin, and on the point of falling to the ground. See p. 133.]
- 1390, Sept. 30. Receipt to C. from Henry Yevele, the King's Chief Cementer, for 70*s.* due to him for wages in 1388, and 25*s.*, the balance of a year's wages (£18 5*s.*) from 29 Sept. 1389 to 29 Sept. 1390, at 12*d.* a day.
- ? 1390. Bit of a Writ of Rich. II. about the 'procheines ioustes' (see p. 133), mentioning William Hannay, Controller of the Works.
- 1391, Jan. 12. Receipt of William Hannay, Controller, to Chaucer, for £28 0*s.* 8*d.*, for wages at 12*d.* a day, from 12 July 1389 to 31 Jan. 1391.
- 1391, Feb. 14. King's Writ to C. directing him to pay the arrears of wages, at 12*d.* a day, due to Richard Swift, Master of the King's Carpenters.
- 1391, Feb. 15. Receipt accordingly of this Richard Swift to C. for £18 5*s.*, a year's wages at 1*s.* a day, from 12 July 1389 to 11 July 1390.
- 1391, June 17. King's Writ to C., telling him that John Gedney has been appointed his successor as Clerk of the Works at the Palace of Westminster, Tower of London, &c.
- 1391, July 8. King's Writ to C. not to interfere with John Gedney, his successor as Clerk of the Works at St George's Chapel, Windsor, which Chapel was still threatened with ruin, and on the point of falling to the ground.
- ? 1391, July. Bit of a Release to C., late Clerk of the Works [? from his successor, John Gedney], for dead stock, tools, &c. [? handed over by Chaucer to Gedney].
- 1391, July 12. Receipt of John Gedney to C. for loads of Stapleton and Reigate stone (bought by C. for the repair of St George's Chapel).
- 1391, Oct. 1. Receipt to C. from William Hannay, Controller of the King's Works, for £6 18*s.*, 138 days' wages at 12*d.* a day, from 31 Jan. to 18 June 1391.

1391, Oct. 11. Receipt to C. from Henry Yevele, the King's Chief Cemente[r], for 18s. 5½d., the balance of his wages, and his allowance of 25s. a year.

One faint document not yet made out.

1389-91. Exch. L. T. R. *Foreign Accounts*, 12 Ric. II. C.'s accounts as Clerk of Works, 12 July 1389 to 17 June 1391. This enrolment recites the appointment of C. as Clerk of the Works at Westminster, the Tower, &c. &c. (but not at St George's Chapel, Windsor), on July 12, 1389, and that of his successor John Gedney, on June 17, 1391. It then gives the sums that C. received from the Treasury during that time, £1209 9s. 9d. altogether. Then his outlay, for materials, wages (including his own at 2s. a day : £70 12s.), the cost (£8 12s. 6d.) of making scaffolds in May and October, 1390, for the King and Queen and other ladies to see the jousts in Smithfield from, and the £20 of which C. was robbd (see the entry, '1390 Sept. 3' below) ; altogether £1130 8s. 11½d. The balance (£79 18s. 1½d.) he accounts for in his St George's Chapel account of £100 17s. 4d., so that £20 19s. 2d. is due to Chaucer. Then follow the accounts of dead stock—tools, materials, &c.—at the King's palaces, &c., received by Chaucer on his taking office ; of such stock given out by him during his clerkship ; and of the rest delivered by him to his successor John Gedney.

Lastly, C.'s appointment, on July 12, 1390, as Clerk of the Works at St George's Chapel, Windsor (which is then threatened with ruin, and on the point of falling to the ground ; and to repair which he has power to impress workmen), and the appointment of John Gedney to succeed him, on July 8, 1391. And an account for 101 baskets (?) (*doliates*) of Stapleton stone, and 200 loads of Reigate stone, which C. bought (by his agent John Paule) for the repair of the Chapel, but didn't use, and therefore gave over to his successor, John Gedney. The stone, its carriage, &c., and the wages of three labourers for 16 days, loading and unloading the stone, cost £101 17s. 4d. Receipt of John Gedney to C. for this stone.

1390, March 13. *Originalia*, 13 Ric. 2, m. 30. C. on Thames-Bank-repair Commission.

1390, July 1. Exch. Q. R. *Memoranda*, Hilary, *Brevia*, Roll 19, bk. Writ to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, to allow Chaucer the costs of putting up scaffolds in Smithfield for the King and Queen to see the jousts in May 1390.

1390, Sept. 3. Chaucer is robbd, near the 'fowle Ok[e]', of £20 of the King's money, his horse, and other moveables, by certain notorious thieves, as is fully confesst by the mouth of one of them in gaol at Westminster. See the

King's Writ (6 Jan. 14 Ric. II, 1391) forgiving C. this £20, in Exch. Q. Rememb. *Memoranda*, Hilary, *Brevia*, Roll 20, 14 Ric. II. (See the separate account by Mr Selby, of this Robbery, and perhaps two others, which will be issued soon to our Members.)

**Geoffrey's Grandfather; Uncle of the half-blood;
and Father, John Chaucer.¹**

- 1339, Friday before May 1. Hustings Roll, 66. Conveyance by THOMAS HEROUN, Citizen and Vintner of London, to RICHARD CHAUCER, Citizen and Vintner (Geoffrey's grandfather), of a tenement in the parish of St Michael's, Paternosterchurch, in the Vintry Ward. (This Thomas Heroun was no doubt Richard C.'s stepson.) JOHN CHAUCER—Richard's son, and Geoffrey's father,—was one of the witnesses to this deed.
- 1339, July 7. Hustings Roll, 66. Release to the said RICHARD CHAUCER, by Mrs Joanna Bercote, widow, of all her right of dower in the tenement he bought of the said Thomas Heyron, Citizen and Vintner.
- 1344, first Saturday in April. Hustings Roll, 71. Conveyance to the said RICHARD CHAUCER by John Fort, of a tenement in the Corner near London Bridge, at a place called the Bars.
- 1344, first Monday in April. Hustings Roll, 71. Release to RICHARD CHAUCER by John Fort, of the same tenement.
- 1348, March 6. Hustings Roll, 75. Release by John Box to RICHARD CHAUCER of two marks of quit-rent payable out of RICHARD CHAUCER's newly built house at the corner of kirounlane (Crown Lane), in the parish of St Michael's Paternosterchurch (in the Vintry Ward).
- ²1349, Easter Day. Hustings Roll, 77. Will of RICHARD CHAUCER (Geoffrey's grandfather), Citizen and Vintner, names Maria his wife, and Thomas Heyroun her son.
- ²1349, April 7. Hustings Roll, 76. Will of THOMAS HEY-

¹ In the *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer* by William Thomas,—from collections by Dart,—prefix to Urry's edition of Chaucer, the following Letters of Protection, dated June 12, 1338, are given, showing that Chaucer's father John was in attendance on Edw III and Queen Philippa in their expedition to Flanders and Cologne: "Johannes Chaucer qui cum Rege in obsequium Regis, per præceptum Regis ad partes transmarinas profecturus est, habet Literas Regis de protectione, cum clausula 'Volumus', usque ad festum Natalis Domini proximò futurum duraturas. Teste Rege apud Walton, duodecimo die Junii 1338. Aleman. 12 Edw. 3, p. 1, m. 8. Rymer's Fed. vol. v, p. 51."

² known before. 1349 was the year of the great Plague. The extraordinarily long list of Wills enrolled in the City Hustings Roll of this year is very striking.

ROUN¹, Citizen and Vintner (Geoffrey's step-uncle), leaves his land to be sold 'per manus JOHANNIS CHAUCER, Fratris mei.' (Geoffrey's Father.)

- ²1349, day before Peter and Paul's Feast. Hustings Roll, 77. Sale of part of T. Heyroun's land to Andrew Aubrey, by 'JOHANNES CHAUCER, Ciuis & vinetarius Londonie, executor testamenti Thome Hayroun, fratris mei.'
- 1349, Monday after the feast of the Translation of St Thomas the Martyr. Like sale by JOHN CHAUCER to Andrew Aubrey of other part of T. Heyroun's lands.
- 1349, Nov. 11. Hustings Roll, 77. Release to JOHN CHAUCER, Citizen and Vintner, of all Nigellus de Hakeneye's claim in certain lands.
- 1354, April 3. Hustings Roll, 82. Conveyance, by JOHN CHAUCER and AGNES his wife,³ to Dr Simon Plaghe,⁴ of some of the property which she took as heiress of her uncle, Hamo de Copton, moneyer.
- 1366, January 16. Hustings Roll, 93. Conveyance, by JOHN CHAUCER and AGNES his wife, of other part of her land inherited from her uncle, Hamo de Copton, moneyer.

Nicholas Chaucer, pepperer.

- 1368, January 13. City Hustings Roll 43 Edw. III, 1369. No. 97, membr. 2. Will of NICHOLAS CHAUCER, Pepperer (contains no allusion to the Poet or his family).

Henry Chaucer, vintner.

- (1321, Dec. 11. On the Hustings Roll of 15 Edw. II is enrolled a conveyance, of this date, of a tenement in the parish of St Lawrence, Jewry, in the City of London, next the tenement of John le Botoner, by Philip le Chaucer, Citizen of London, and Heloise his wife, to John de Borham, Citizen of London. As this John the Buttener was possibly the father of Juliana, wife of Henry Chaucer, so this Philip le Chaucer may possibly have been the father of Henry Chaucer.)
- 1372, June 14. City Hustings Roll, 100. Conveyance by HENRY CHAUCER [Vintner], and Juliana his wife, of part of their Garden, near the stream 'Walbrok.'
- 1373, April 4. Hustings Roll, 101. Conveyance by Henry

¹ John Heyroun's will in 1325, and a much earlier one, Alexander Heyroun's will, throw no light on the state of the Heyroun family. There are several Deeds by William Heyroun, Vintner, in 1366, &c.

³ We know from other records that she was his wife as early as 1349, at least.

² See note ², p. 134.

⁴ The Doctor sold it again to William Fournier, citizen and butcher, on Jan. 12, 1357 (Hustings Roll, 84).

Chaucer, Vintner, and Juliana his wife, of her late father, John the Buttoner's lands in Soperslane, &c.

1373, May 20. Further Release by Henry and Juliana Chaucer of the same lands.

Thomas Chaucer, esquire and vintner. (? 1 man, or 2.)

1399-1400. Duchy of Lancaster. Ministers' Accounts. Div. 29, Bundle 144. Payment of £20 to THOMAS CHAUCER for his two Annuities, due at Easter and Michaelmas, with £10 arrears.

1406, March 12. City Hustings Roll, 133. THOMAS CHAUCERS: Deed of entail on him of City lands, near St Paul's, by his 'consanguineus,' William Chaumbre, cleric.¹

1416, February 3. Hustings Roll, 145. Release to THOMAS CHAUCER of the interest of Thomas Hoo and Agnes his wife in these entailed lands.

1413, June 7. Conveyance by Geoffrey Dallyng, Citizen and Vintner, and Matilda his wife, to THOMAS CHAUCER, esquire, and 4 other men, of a reversion in some City houses and land (no doubt as Trustees for some City Corporation).

1426, December 7. Hustings Roll, 155. Conveyance by William Manby, cleric, to THOMAS CHAUCERS and Richard Wyot, esquires, and 4 others, clerics, of land in the parish of St Margaret's, Lothbury, in the City of London, seemingly as Trustees for some ecclesiastical Corporation.

1428, May 20. Hustings Roll, 156. Conveyance by William atte Watir, barber, and John Cole, junior, Citizen and Vintner, of a tenement in Fleet Street to THOMAS CHAWSERE and 12 other men—all 13 being described in one part of the Deed as Citizens and Vintners, evidently as Trustees for the Vintners' Company.

1428, June 11. Release to THOMAS CHAWSERE and his 12 co-trustees—Thomas Chawsere and another (Lewis John), being called esquires, the rest Citizens and Vintners—of the estate of Thomas Crofton, as mortgagee in possession, in the said tenement in Fleet Street.

Chaucer's *raptus* of Cecilia Chaumpaigne.

As several friends have askt me to print Cecilia Chaumpaigne's Deed of Release to Chaucer, with some comments on the law of Rape, I do so.

Cecilia Chaumpaigne's Deed of Release (dated 1 May 1380, enrolled 4 May 1380) to Geoffrey Chaucer from all Actions on account of her *raptus*.²

¹ There are many purchase-deeds of John de la Chaumbre, cleric, in the Index to the Hustings Rolls, from 4 Edw II. (A.D. 1310-11) downwards.

² *Raptus* was used for the abduction of an heir, of a man's wife and goods, &c., as well as for the rape of a virgin, &c.

Close Roll, 3 Ric. II (22 June 1379 to 21 June 1380).

De scripto Nouerint vniuersi, me Ceciliam Chaumpaigne, irrotulato filiam quondam Willelmi Chaumpaigne & Agnetis vxoris eius, remisisse, relaxasse, & omnino pro me & heredibus meis imperpetuum quietum clamasse, **Galfrido Chaucer**, armigero, omnimodas acciones, tam de raptu meo, tam de aliqua alia re vel causa, cuiuscumque condicionis fuerint, quas vnquam habui, habeo, seu habere potero, a principio mundi vsque in diem confeccionis presencium. In cuius rei testimonium, presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, domino Willelmo de Beauchamp¹, tunc Camerario domini Regis; domino Johanne de Clanebowe, domino Willelmo de Neuylle, Militibus; Johanne Philippott¹ & Ricardo Morel. Datum Londonie primo die Maij, Anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum tercio.

Et memorandum quod predicta Cecilia venit in Cancellaria Regis apud Westmonasterium, quarto die Maij, Anno presenti, & recognouit scriptum predictum, & omnia contenta in eodem, in forma predicta.

On this document, Mr Floyd, who kindly refered me to it, gave me the following note, on 28 Nov. 1873:

"1. It was essential to maintain a charge of rape, that the woman on whom it was committed should at the earliest opportunity raise hue and cry. Thus justice, I assume, became seized of the charge, and he who was accused could only be purged by the acquittal of a jury, or a pardon by the Crown.

"Had Chaucer been acquitted by a jury, no compromise with the woman would have been needed.

"The Calendar of the Patent Rolls makes mention of no pardon from the Crown; and though it is very defective, yet it is, I think, to be trusted; for whoever made it was cognizant of the interest attached to Chaucer, as it refers to his appointment to offices, which if granted to other persons would have been passed over.

"As to the appeal for rape, that could only arise after an acquittal by a jury, or a pardon by the Crown; one or other of these ought first to be shown, before that is admitted to be the affair compromised.

"2. In the quit-claim the woman states her parentage, which might be desirable or even necessary in a civil suit, but was perfectly superfluous in arranging a criminal charge.

"3. Three of the witnesses to the quit-claim are Beauchamp,

¹ One of the Collectors of Customs (and afterwards Mayor of London) under whom Chaucer was Controller.

Clanowe¹, and Philpott, men who, though they were Chaucer's inferiors in genius, were socially his superiors. Now any one, I fancy, compromising a criminal charge, would rather have his inferiors than his superiors cognizant of it.

"4. There was a family of the name of Champagne, holding considerable property in Pembrokeshire, and Wm. de Beauchamp was before, in, and after 1380, Custos of the Honor of Pembroke. This may only be a fortuitous coincidence, because I am unable to connect the Alice or her parents with the Pembrokeshire family; but Wm. de Beauchamp being a witness renders it probable that she was.

"*Note.* Pembroke was a Lordship Marcher; its lord possessed in it nearly the same prerogatives as the King in England; for instance, he could pardon persons convicted of capital offences. The Custos appointed by the Crown, whilst the Lordship was in its hands, possessed the same power as the Lord. (Not being a lawyer, what I say must be taken as only a layman's opinion.)"

The young Earl of Pembroke was a minor in 1380, and Sir William Beauchamp was Committee or guardian of his estates, if not guardian of his person. Sir William Beauchamp would therefore act as Lord in protecting Alice Chaumpaigne.

There was a William Champelyn at Donington in Leicestershire, where the Earl of Pembroke had property, in 1 Henry IV (1399-1400), who may possibly have been a brother or other relative of Alice Chaumpaigne's:—

Duchy of Lancaster. Ministers' Accounts. Div. 29, Bundle 144.

Receptor Honoris Leycestrie Compotus Simonis Bache, Receptoris Honoris Leycestrie & alibi, A Festo sancti Michaelis Anno regni regis Ricardi secundi xxiiij^{to}, vsque idem festum Michaelis Anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestum primo, per unum Annum integrum

Castrum de Douyntoñ De Willelmo Chaumpeyn² & Johanne Spynk¹, collectoribus reddituum de Donyngton, per indenturam .xxix. li.

.
De eisdem predictis Willelmo Chaumpeyn² & Johanne Spynk¹, collectoribus reddituum & firmarum ibidem hoc anno de exitibus officii sui in ij parcellis .x. li. ij. d. ob. q^a.

¹ In the Calendar of the Inquisitiones post Mortem, vol. ii. p. 91, No. 39, this name is spelt Philip de 'Clannowe'; and Sir H. Nicholas, in the Proceedings of the Privy Council, vol. i, spells it John Clanevow. This John (as is evident from the proceedings) was, as well as Wm. de Neville—another of the witnesses to Cecilia's charter,—a member of the Privy Council of Richard II.—W. Floyd.

² Mr Selby pointed out these entries to me.

At the time of Chaucer's *raptus* of Cecilia Chaumpaigne, the law of rape, which proved ineffectual to stop the growing practice of it, was fixt by the Stat. Westm. sec., cap. 34, 13 Edw. I, which enacts :

"Purveu est, que si homme ravist femme espouse, damoisele, ou autre femme desoremes, par la ou ele ne se est assentue ne avaunt ne apres, eit jugement de vie e de membre¹; e ensement par la ou home ravist femme, dame espouse, damoisele, ou autre femme a force, tut seit ke ele se assente apres, eit tel jugement come avaunt est dit, si il seit ataint a la suite le Rei, e la eit le Rei sa suite."

It is Provided, That if a Man from henceforth do ravish a Woman, married, Maid, or other, where she did not consent, neither before nor after, he shall have Judgement of Life¹ and of Member. And likewise where a Man ravisheth a Woman, married Lady, Damosel, or other, with Force, although she consent after, he shall have such Judgement as before is said, if he be attainted at the King's Suit, and there the King shall have the Suit.

Statutes, Record Office edition, i. 87.

As Cecilia Chaumpaigne herself executes the Release to Chaucer, it is clear that she was of age, and that hers was not a case of abduction of a ward—

"De Pueris, sive masculis sive femellis, quorum maritadium ad aliquem pertineat, raptis & abductis, si ille qui rapuerit, non habens jus in maritadium, licet postmodum restituat puerum non maritatum, vel de maritagio satisfecerit, puniatur tamen pro transgressione per prisonam duorum annorum."

Concerning Children, Males or Females, whose Marriage belongeth to another, taken and carried away, if the Ravisher have no Right in the Marriage, though after he restore the Child unmarried, or else pay for the Marriage, he shall nevertheless be punished for his Offence by Two Years Imprisonment.

13^o Edw. I, Stat. Westm. sec., c. 35. *Record Off.* edition, i. 88.

¹ Felony was punisht, or punishable, with death. Compare Robert of Brunne's statement in his *Handlyng Synne*, p. 70, lines 2173-82 :—

Or ȝyf þou swyche folȝ begun,
To rauysshē any womman,
þat ys to seye, any wedded wyfe,
þe more ys þy syne, and perel of lyfe.
ȝyf þou rauysshē any mayden elene—
Aȝens here wyl, þat ys to mene,—
Hyt ys seyde, þurghe lawē wrete,
þat þyn hede shulde be of smete :
Lawe makeþ þat commaundement
Wyþ-outyn any iuggement ;
þat mayst þou fynde al and sum,
In code 'de raptu virginum'.

For the continuation of these lines, see below, p. 142.

In such a case, the Lord of the Ward, and not the Ward, would have been the person to release Chaucer; and this person would then possibly have been Sir William Beauchamp, the King's Chamberlain, one of the witnesses to the Deed, as guardian of the fatherless Cecilia Chaumpaigne. See Mr Floyd's note above, that the Champaignes held lands under the Beauchamps.

The next Act about Rape was in 6 Ric. II, Stat. 1 (A.D. 1382 and 1382-3), cap. 6:—

¹ITEM. Against the Offenders and Ravishers [malefactores & raptores] of Ladies, and the Daughters of Noblemen, and other Women, *in every Part of the said Realm, in these Days offending more violently, and much more than they were wont*; It is ordained and stablished, That wheresoever and whensoever such Ladies, Daughters, and other Women aforesaid be ravished [rapiantur], and after such Rape do consent to such Ravishers, that as well the Ravishers [Raptores], as they that be ravished [Rapiantes], and every of them, be from thenceforth disabled, and by the same Deed be unable to have or challenge all Inheritance, Dower, or Joint Feoffment after the Death of their Husbands and Ancestors; and that incontinently in this Case the next of the Blood of those Ravishers, or of them that be ravished [Rapiencium & raptarum], to whom such Inheritance, Dower, or Joint Feoffment ought to revert, remain or fall after the Death of the Ravisher, or of her that is so ravished, shall have Title immediately, that is to say, after the Rape, to enter upon the Ravisher, or her that is ravished, and their Assigns, and Land-Tenants in the same Inheritance, Dower, or Joint-Feoffment, and the same to hold in State of Inheritance; and that the Husbands of such Women, if they have Husbands, or if they have no Husbands in Life, that then the Fathers or other next of their Blood, have from henceforth the Suit to pursue, and may sue against the same Offenders and Ravishers [malefactores & raptores] in this behalf, and to have them thereof convict of Life and of Member, although the same Women, after such Rape, do consent to the said Ravishers. And further it is accorded, That the Defendant in this Case shall not be received to wage Battel, but that the Truth of the Matter be thereof tried by Inquisition of the Country. Saving always to our Lord the King, and to other Lords of the said Realm, all their Escheats of the said Ravishers [de raptoribus illis], if peradventure they be thereof convict.

Statutes, Record Office edition, ii. 27.

There can be little question that rape was at one time a

¹ I give only the translation, as the chapter is so long.

common practise of English gentlemen; as seduction is, or was lately, among certain bad sets in the army, at College, &c. Robert of Brunne, writing A.D. 1303—and not here translating and enlarging William of Waddington (of about 1260 ?)

—says:

Also do þese lordynges,
 þe[y] trespas moche yn twey þynges;
 þey rauys a mayden azens here wyl,
 And mennys wyuys þey lede away þertyl:
 A grete vylanye þarto he dous,
 3yf he make þerof his rous (*glosst boste*);
 þe dede ys confusyun,
 And more ys þe dyffamacyun

Handlyng Synne, p. 231, l. 7420-7.

That the clergy of all ranks indulgd in the practise, there can be little doubt, as well from the nature of the case, as the continual complaints of them throughout early literature, and recorded instances, of which a couple may be given here:—

Agarde's Abstract of the 'Placita Coram Rege temp. Ric. II,'
 leaf 38.

Placita coram domino Rege apud Westmonasterium de Termino Sancti Hillarij Anno Regni Regis Ricardi Secundi a conquestu Vndecimo.

Glouc. 27. Quater presentatur contra Henricum Wakefeld Episcopum Wigornensem pro Raptu mulierum, &c. Qui venit et reddidit se prisone marescalcie. Et per marescallum ductus et arenatus, profert pardonacionem Regis, vna cum brevi clauso, per quem ipse deliberatur.

Coram Rege 1 Ric. II. Trinity. Roll x. Heryng.

Cantabrigia. Robertus Spryng, per attornatum suum, opponit se iiij^{to} die versus Johannem Heð, Clericum, de placito quare, vi & armis, Katerinam, vxorem ipsius Roberti, apud Haselyngfeld rapuit, & eam, cum bonis & catallis eiusdem Roberti, abduxit, & ea ei ad huc detinet, & alia enorma, &c. ad dampnum, &c. & contra pacem nostram, ac contra formam statuti in huiusmodi casu prouisi, &c. Et ipse non venit. Et preceptum fuit vicecomiti quod attachiet eum. Et vicecomes retornat quod predictus Robertus non inuenit plegia de prosequendo. Et modo iste eodem termino venit predictus Robertus in Curia Regis coram domino Rege, & inuenit plegia de prosequendo, videlicet, per Willelmum Cryour & Robertum Twynge. Ideo sicut alias preceptum est vicecomiti quod

attachiet predictum Johannem Hed. Ita quod
habeat corpus eius coram domino Rege in Octabis
sancti Michaelis vbicunque, &c. Et vnde octabis
Trinitatis.

While then, I think it certain that Chaucer committed no felony in his 'raptus' of Cecilia Chaumpaigne, yet there must remain the possibility that he lay with her, and compensated her—according to the quotations below—possibly on Sir Wm. Beauchamp's demand. The opinion given on the Carpenter's Wife in the *Miller's Tale* may have been Chaucer's own, concerning every pretty girl:—

She was a prymerole / a piggesnye
For any lord / to leggen in his bedde
Or yet/ for any good yeman to wedde

A. 3268-70, Ellesmere MS, p. 94.

And as Robert of Brunne says of a maiden and her seducer,

And þoghe she to hym consente,
He ys holde to here auunsement¹;
For 3yf she 3yue here to folye,
She kan nat leuë tyl she deye.

p. 230, l. 7396-9.

Or again, if the maiden ravisht were poor, the law seems to have allowd a compensation to be made, or to have winkt at it; the daughter or wife of a villein, for instance—who was sold with the estate she lived on, like a young tree—and was not separately valued like a heifer would probably have been—cannot practically have been always regarded as having the rights of a free woman. Robert of Brunne's lines following those already quoted on p. 139 above,—which show the penalty of rape to have been death—are these:—

3yf þou rauysshe a mayden powre,
þou art holdyn to here socoure¹;
And þat shal be at here wylle,
For, as she wyl, þou shalt fulfylle
For þou hast do here tresun,
þou hast stole here warysun;
Hyt may þe brynge to more cumbryng
þan þoghe þou haddest stole moche ouþer þyng.

Handlyng Synne, p. 70-1, l. 2185-92.

[There is no French original for this passage, so that it is Robert of Brunne's own statement, in 1303, of the custom of his time. This confirms my interpretation (*Temporary Preface*, p. 118) of Chaucer's ironical lines in his Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* on the Friar:—

He hadde maad / ful many a mariage
Of yonge wommen / at his owene cost¹

As witnesst by the Prior of Maiden Bradley's boast that he

had 'never medelet with marytt women, but all with madens, the faireste cowlde be gotyn, and always mared them ryght well,' that is, marrid them to other men, giving them a small dowry, 'advancing' them.]

While I wish this record about Cecilia Chaumpaigne had not been on the Close Roll, yet, as it was there, I feel much obliged to Mr Floyd for pointing it out; as, if we take the worst possible view of it—violent rape not being possible—it only shows that a thing happend, which any one, from certain of Chaucer's Tales, must have known might well have happend, and which was hardly considered a fault in the gentleman of his day.

[The following case does not seem one of ravishment.]

Agarde, temp. Edw. III. Trinity Term, A° x, leaf 89, back.

Rex.

Linc. 10. *Juratores diuersorum hundredorum presentant quod Hugo de Frenes, miles, cum multis alijs ignotis, venit ad Castrum de Bolingbroke, et petierunt a Janitore quod possent intrare, qui invitus apperuit Januas per Johannem de Lascy militem, qui fuit ex conuiua et assensu predictorum Hugonis et aliorum. Et tunc venerunt in Aula, et ceperunt Alesiaz, Comitissam Lincolnie, asserentes ipsam debere alibi esse in custodia, et eam posuerunt super equum selatum, de quo cecidit. Et postea ipsam levauerunt, et posuerunt quendam garcionem post illam, vt illam teneret super equum, et sic ipsam duxerunt ad Castrum de Semerton, et ipsam rapuerunt contra voluntatem suam. Ipse venit, et per Juratores non est culpabilis &c.*

Agarde notices elsewhere :—

Michaelis, A° xix [Edw. III], leaf 159.

Londōn 41. In placito pro **Raptu** continetur hec **Raptus**
verba **Et illam de Puellagio suo felonice rapuit, et totaliter deflorauit.**

Trinitatis, Anno xxj°, leaf 169, back.

Oxon. 24. *Ricardus de Wymbourn per Juratores recuperavit dampnum xl^{li}. uersus Thomam de Okereswell pro raptu et detencione vxoris sue, cum bonis suis, &c.* **Raptus vxoris**

Mr Floyd has shown me in the '*Excerpta e Rotulis Finium* . . . Henrico tertio Rege, A.D. 1216-1272', vol. ii. p. 17, an entry in which Hugh Pecche and Ida his wife (formerly a widow) are both enterd as liable to the King for £500, be-

cause Hugh carrid off and marrid the widow Ida without paying the King for leave to wed. The entry begins thus :

pro Hugone Pecche } HUGO PECCHE & IDA vxor eius, que
& Ida de Segrave } fuit uxor STEPHANI DE SEGRAVE, finem
 fecerunt cum Rege per quingentas libras
pro transgressione quam idem Hugo fecit rapiendo *predictam*
Idam, de quibus reddent C. marcas ad festum Sancti Edwardi
 quod erit in quindena Sancti Michaelis anno &c. xxxj., & L.
 libras ad Pascha anno &c. xxxij, & L libras ad festum Sancti
 Michaelis anno eodem, & Sic de anno in annum C. libras ad
 eosdem terminos, donec dicte quingengte [*sic*] libre fuerint
 persolute.

[The names of the sureties follow ; and directions to Elye le Latimer and the Sheriff of Bedford, who had respectively seizd the lands of Pecche and his wife, on account of their misdeeds, to give the lands up to them ; and that the Sheriffs of Suffolk and Essex are not to proclaim Hugh Pecche an outlaw (ad utlagandum decetero interrogari non faciant).]

p. 41, l. 9. *John of Gaunt's Marriage to Blanche of Lancaster*, daughter and heiress of Henry, the late Duke of Lancaster. Here is a chance notice of it, soon after its happening, in an undersheriffs' account :—

1366 A.D. Exch. Q. R. Memoranda 40 Edw. III. Hilary. 'Precepta' on the account of Robert de Twyford, undersheriff, and Simon de Leek, late sheriff, of Nottingham and Derby.

Et restant ei allocande x. li. quas dicit se soluisse Johanni, Duci Lancastrie, qui Blanchiam, filiam & heredem Henrici nuper Ducis Lancastrie, duxit in vxorem, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, de illis viginti libratīs redditus quas Rex nuper concessit prefato Henrico, sub nomine Comitis Derby percipiendis sibi & heredibus suis singulis¹ annis de exitibus eiusdem Comitis Derby ad festa sancti Michaelis & Pasche equaliter per manus vicecomitum qui pro tempore fuerint, &c. de quarum solucione dicit se habere literas acquietancie predictorum Ducis & Blanchie in partibus suis . . .

p. 112, l. 15 from foot. On my words, "Turner's wonder at some of Mr Ruskin's interpretations of his pictures has been recorded for us," Prof. Ruskin writes :

"MY DEAR FURNIVALL,

"After being greatly delighted and instructed by your Forewords, thorough, I am put into a violent passion by finding you insert a réchauffé—exaggerated in terms—of

¹ MS. sigmliis

that entirely dull after Academy-dinner tradition, of Turner's 'wonder at my interpretations,' &c.

"—Please to observe therefore,

"1. Turner never 'wondered' at anything.

"2. So far from finding me put meanings into his pictures, which he had not, he tried for a quarter of an hour, on two several occasions, to make me guess a meaning which he *had*; and was greatly vexed and angry because I could not.

"3. I never 'interpreted' any of his pictures till six years after his death. My endeavour to do so, when they were exhibited at Marlborough House, made me so bitterly feel my ignorance both of Greek Mythology and of Turner's higher modes of expression, that I began a course of Greek reading, which, carried on steadily for ten years, enabled me at last to write my *Queen of the Air*; and in some degree qualified me for the position I now hold at Oxford. So that, practically, up to this hour, Turner has been my tutor,—not I his interpreter.

"Ever faithfully yours,

"J. R."

p. 126, note on p. 38, l. 1. But though John of Gaunt did marry again, and then again, he didn't forget his Duchess Blanche, as the following entries of payments for her tomb, and services at it, show:—

Duchy of Lancaster. Class 28, Bundle 3, No. 1.

Michaelmas 1377-8. *Compotus domini Willelmi de Bughbrugg, generalis Receptoris Johannis Regis Castellie & Legionis*¹, *Ducis Lancastrie*, de omnibus receptis suis, solutionibus & expensis, A festo sancti Michaelis Anno regni regis Edwardi tercij post conquestum Anglie quinquagesimo usque idem festum Anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum primo per vnum Annum integrum.

Custus	¶ In denariis solutis Magistro Henrico Yeuele,
Tumbe	& Thome Wreke, Cementario Londonie, in partem
Domine	solucionis maioris summe eis debite pro factura
Blanchie	vnius Tumbe infra ecclesiam sancti Pauli Londonie,
	supra corpus domine Blanchie, quondam Ducisse
	Lancastrie, vt patet per indenturam de conuencionibus
	factam, receptis denariis per manus dicti Henrici,
	videlicet, pro terminis sancti Michaelis Anno regni

¹ Lancaster, second Duke. John Plantagenet, surnamed "of Gaunt", Earl of Richmond, fourth son of Edward III, created Duke of Lancaster 13 Nov. 1362, and Duke of Aquitaine for life (in Parliament) 2 Mar. 1389, K.G., *King of Castile and Leon*; died 23 Feb. 1399.—*Nicolas*.

regis Edwardi .L.^{mo}, & Pasche Anno quinquagesimo primo, per duas literas domini de Warranto, Quarum vna data Apud Sauuoye xxiiij. die Nouembris Anno L.^{mo} & altera data ibidem .xx. die Aprilis, Anno Lj.^{mo} Ac eciam duas indenturas ipsorum Henrici & Thome super hunc compotum liberatum cvij. li.

(Then follows a payment of Chaucer's annuity from the Duke.

Annuitates Galfrido Chaucer' pro Annuitate sua pro
de termino eodem termino, per literas domini de warranto
Pasche Anno datas apud Sauuoye xij. die Junii Anno lj.^{mo},
lj.^{mo} & acquietanciam ipsius Galfridi super hunc com-
potum liberatamc. s.)

(*Blanche.*)

Stipendium In denariis solutis dominis Daud Estradev
Capellanorum & Daud Mort', Capellanis celebrantibus diuina
in ecclesia sancti Pauli, Londonie, pro anima
Domine Blanchie, nuper ducisse Lancastrie: pro
stipendiis suis a Crastino sancti Michaelis Anno
regni regis Edwardi l.^{mo} vsque idem tempus
Anno regni regis Ricardi primo, videlicet, vtri-
que eorum x. li. & sic de anno in annum dum
in illo seruicio steterint, per literas domini de
warranto currente datas apud Sauuoye .x.^{mo} die
Decembris, Anno .L.^{mo}, & iiij. Acquietancias
ipsorum Daud & Daud super hunc compotum
liberatasxx. li.

Soluciones per In diuersis solucionibus & expensis factis
Warranta circa Anniuersarium domine Blanchie, nuper
ducisse Lancastrie, tentum Londonie Mense Sep-
tembris, Anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post
conquestum Anglie primo, vt patet per particu-
las inde factas, & super hunc compotum libera-
tas, necnon per easdem literas domini, &c.
xxvij. li .xiiij s. viij. d.

(*Horses, a Minstrel, Auditors, &c.*)

(Among the horses paid for is "Edwardo Ferour pro vno trotter' bay, per ipsum empto ad opus domini, per easdem literas .vij. li .vj. s .x. d."; other payments are 'pro vno equo nigro trotter' . . pro vno malere . . .xij. li.' 'Roulekyne Shalumser, vni Ministrallo domini . . .xl. s.' The Auditors are paid 4s. a day. One of them, Philip Melreth, rides from Tuttebury to London in Feb., 51 Edw. III. 'per .iiij.^{or} dies', and stays there during April, May, and June, and July in 1 Ric. II. on the Duke's business, 73 days, making 77 days altogether, for which he gets .xiiij. li. viij. s.)

Here is the Duke's yearly allowance (Michaelmas 1377-8) for his daughters by his dead wife Blaunche (see p. 80, above), while they were under Katherine Swynford's care :—

Filia- rum Domini	In denariis solutis domine Katerine de Swynford, Magistresse dominarum Philippe & Elizabethhe de Lancastria, pro expensis Garderobe & Camerarie dictarum dominarum Philippe & Elizabethhe / per dominum concessis, videlicet, pro termino Michaelis Anno .L. ^{mo} per literas domini de warranto datas apud Sauuoye xiiij. die Octobris Anno .L. ^{mo} & indenturam ipsius Katerine super hunc compotum liberatam
	[£83] ^{xx} _{.iiij.} iij. li. vj. s. viii. d.
	¶ Eidem Katerine pro tot denariis assignatis dictis dominabus Philippe & Elizabethhe pro expensis Garderobe & Camerarie suarum / vltra aliquam Annuitatem per dominum eis prius concessam, per literas domini de warranto datas Apud Sauuoye xvj. die Februarii, Anno .Lj. ^{mo} & indenturam ipsius Katerine super hunc compotum liberatam .xvj. li. xiiij. s. iiij. d.
Custus Came- rarie	¶ Eidem domine Katerine, in denariis assignatis eisdem Philippe & Elizabethhe pro consimilibus expensis, videlicet, pro termino Pasche, Anno .Lj. ^{mo} per literas domini de Warranto datas apud Sauuoye, quarto die Maij, Anno lj. ^o & indenturam ipsius domine Katerine super hunc compotum liberatam .C. li.
	¶ Summa . . . CC. li.

Follows, John of Gaunt's yearly allowance for his only son by Blanche, Henry (of Bolingbroke) afterwards King Henry IV of England :—

Henrici filij Domini	¶ In denariis solutis Hugoni Waterton, in partem solucionis .L. li. assignatarum isto Anno presenti pro Camera Henrici filij domini, per literas eiusdem domini de Warranto datas apud Sauuoye xiiij. die Decembris, Anno .L. ^{mo} & indenturam ipsius Hugonis super hunc compotum liberatam .xxv. li.
	¶ In denariis solutis domino Hugoni Herle, Capellano eiusdem Henrici Comitis Derby, super certis expensis Garderobe sue faciendis per literas domini de Warranto

datas apud Sauuoye xvij. die Junii Anno Lj.^{mo}, & indenturam ipsius domini Hugonis super hunc compotum liberatam .x. li.

¶ *Eidem domino Hugoni Herle, pro vno Missale per ipsum empto ad opus dicti Henrici .vj. li. xij. s. iiij. d. ; pro duobus equis emptis ad opus eiusdem .xij. li. ; & super expensis Camere sue .viii. li. per literas domini de Warranto datas apud Sauuoye .vij.^{mo} die Julii Anno primo, & indenturam ipsius domini Hugonis super hunc compotum liberatam xxvj. li. xij. s. iiij. d.*

Then come, among other payments, one to Chaucer, and another to Oto Graunson, of their Annuities from the Duke of Lancaster :—

Michaelis Anno In denariis solutis **Galfrido Chaucer** pro quinquagesimo Annuitate sua sibi debitâ, pro termino Michaelis Anno quinquagesimo c. s.

p. 90, p. 123. *Gransson.* This Oto de Gransson is mentioned on the Duchy of Lancaster Roll in 1377-8 :—

Annuitates ¶ *Domino Otes Graunson, Militi, pro An- Pasche Anno nuitate sua pro eodem termino, per literas .Lj.^{mo} domini de Warranto datas apud Sauuoye .xij. die May, Anno .Lj.^{mo} & superius in titulo de Custubus Manerii de la Sauuoye annotatas, ac acquietanciam ipsius Otes super hunc compotum liberatam xxxij. li. vj. s. viij. d.*



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